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GEORGE the III.KING of GREAT BRITAIN.
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THE GENERAL

HISTORY of the Late WAR:

CONTAINING IT'S

Riſe, Progreſs, *and* Event,

IN

EUROPE, ASIA, AFRICA, and AMERICA.

AND EXHIBITING

The STATE of the Belligerent Powers at the Commencement of the War; their Intereſts and Objects in it's Continuation; and REMARKS on the Meaſures, which led GREAT BRITAIN to Victory and Conqueſt.

INTERSPERSED WITH

The CHARACTERS of the able and diſintereſted STATESMEN, to whoſe Wiſdom and Integrity, and of the HEROES, to whoſe Courage and Conduct, we are indebted for that

NAVAL and MILITARY

Succeſs, which is not to be equalled in the Annals of this, or of any other Nation.

AND WITH

Accurate Deſcriptions of the SEAT of WAR, the Nature and Importance of our Conqueſts, and of the moſt remarkable BATTLES by Sea and Land.

Illuſtrated with

A Variety of HEADS, PLANS, MAPS, and CHARTS, Deſigned and Engraved by the *beſt Artiſts*.

VOL. IV.

Hiſtorici eſt: nequid falſi, audeat dicere: nequid veri, non audeat.

POLIB.

By the Rev. JOHN ENTICK, *M. A.*

And other GENTLEMEN.

LONDON:

Printed for EDWARD DILLY, in the Poultry;

And JOHN MILLAN, at Charing-Croſs.

M.DCC.LXIII.

THE

GENERAL HISTORY

OF THE

LATE WAR.

THE French ſcheme was to penetrate into Hanover, and to take up winter-quarters in that Electorate. But Prince Ferdinand, notwithſtanding his miſcarriages againſt Franckfort, and the advantages gained by the French afterwards, had kept ſo cloſe to their heels, and was now in ſuch a ſituation, that they could not complete theſe deſigns, without riſking a battle, to force the poſt occupied by a ſtrong body of the allies near Minden, well entrenched near the river, and ſupported by the main army, at a little diſtance. A. D. 1759. The allied army.

The French general ſaw his own critical ſituation, and could ſo far penetrate into the intention of Prince Ferdinand's motions, that he ſoon diſcovered his danger increaſing on every ſide, the longer he remained at Minden. This obliged Critical ſituation of the French.

A. D. 1759. How they attempted to clear themſelves.

him to enter upon meaſures to facilitate his operations. He began with an attempt to block up a ſmall garriſon, which the allies had at Vechte; intentionally to proceed, and prevent Prince Ferdinand's collecting his detachments, and to cut off his retreat after a general battle, which was likewiſe determined. Prince Ferdinand detached M. de Schlieffer, his aid de camp, with 40 huſſars and 200 dragoons, to the relief of Vechte; which was effected: and theſe, being reinforced by the garriſon of Bremen, proceeded to Oſnabruck, garriſoned by the voluntiers of Clermont, and made themſelves maſters of it by a coup de main. M. Contades had alſo occupied the paſs of Lubeke. Againſt which the Hereditary Prince was detached with 6000 men, and diſlodged the enemy on the 28th, the ſame day that Oſnabruck was ſurprized.

Prince Ferdinand's maſterly motions.

From this time Prince Ferdinand laid a ſnare for his French antagoniſt; and to draw him into the toil. For this purpoſe he, on the 29th, made a ſhort march, of the grand army on his right, towards Hille; left General Wangenheim with a body of troops in his camp at Thornhauſen, and the troops entrenched near the river, to obſerve the army under M. Duke de Broglio; he alſo ſent orders to the Hereditary Prince, in conjunction with the troops that could be ſpared from Oſnabruck, to take the rout of Hervorden, and ſo to poſt themſelves at Kirchlinniger, as to intercept or prevent the coming of the enemy's convoys from Paderborn, on which their immediate ſubſiſtence

ſiſtence greatly depended. This was done on the 31ſt of July. A. D. 1759.

M. Contades was hourly convinced of the danger of procraſtination. As ſoon as he was acquainted with theſe advantages gained by the enemy, he ſummoned his generals, at ſix in the evening of the 31ſt of July, he held a grand council of war, compoſed of all his general officers; who agreed to march that very night againſt the allies, and to attack them at break of day; and the marſhal ordered that the army ſhould march in eight columns to the ground, on which they were to be formed in battle array. There was alſo a reſerve formed, under the Duke de Broglio; which, augmented with eight battalions of the grenadiers of France, and the royal grenadiers, were ordered to make a ninth column, and to keep on the right, proceeding on the left bank of the Weſer. M. Contades reſolves to attack him.

This plan of action was formed by the French marſhal upon a vague ſuppoſition, taken from artful diſpoſitions made by Prince Ferdinand; whoſe motions, on the 29th, had induced him to believe, that his Serene Highneſs had carried his principal force to his right, and that the corps at the brink of the Weſer was neither very numerous, nor in a ſituation capable of being ſupported by the army, that was encamped at Hille. The Duke de Broglio was particularly appointed to attack this corps: and it was ſo looked upon, as impoſſible for him to miſcarry; inſomuch, that his orders bore, That after over-whelming and Why.

A. D. 1759. routing that corps on the Weſer, the Duke ſhould fall upon the left flank of the enemy, and thereby facilitate the attack and victory of the marſhal's army.

Prince Ferdinand's precautions.

Prince Ferdinand, that ſame evening, gave orders for his army to be ready to march at one o'clock next morning, and required the advanced poſts to be very attentive, and to tranſmit an account of the leaſt motion they ſhould obſerve in that night. Two deſerters, that ſame evening, arrived in the camp, with intelligence that the enemy was advancing to attack General Wangenheim, and had already paſſed the Marſh. This moſt important news was delivered to M. de Radan, the adjutant-general, at Hactim at ten o'clock: but was not conveyed to Prince Ferdinand till almoſt three in the morning. His Serene Highneſs diſpatched his orders; without loſs of time, for every officer to be at his reſpective poſt with his corps under arms, to ſtrike their tents, and to be ready to march and attack, as he ſhould ſee convenient to direct, they having before been diſpoſed, with great judgment, in the following line of battle:

Prince Ferdinand's orders for attacking M. Contades.

His line of battle.

FRONT LINE.

Lieutenant Generals.

Major Generals.

Cannon.

Firſt Brigade.	*Second Brigade.*
12 twelve pounders.	10 twelve pounders.
2 howitzers.	2 howitzers.
8 three pounders.	

Third

A. D. 1759.

Third Brigade.	*Fourth Brigade.*
12 six pounders.	12 twelve pounders.
1 howitzer.	2 howitzers.
10 three pounders,	8 three pounders.

Right reserve Battery of Light Guns.	*Left reserve Battery of Light Guns.*
2 twelve pounders.	4 twelve pounders.
4 howitzers.	2 howitzers.
3 six pounders.	3 six pounders.
1 four pounder.	2 four pounders.

SECOND LINE.

Lieutenant General. Majors Generals.

Abstract of the Army.

Nations.	*1st Line*		*2d Line*		*Total.*	
	B.	*Sq.*	*B.*	*Sq.*	*B.*	*Sq.*
British	3	8	3	6	6	14
Prussians	0	5	0	4	0	9
Hanoverians	9	12	8	8	17	20
Hessians	6	8	6	8	12	16
Brunswick	4	0	3	0	7	0
Buckeburg	1	0			1	0
Total	23	33	20	26	43	49

Duke of Broglio's march against General Wangenheim.

The Duke de Broglio had passed the Werra, that runs along the Morass; was in order of battle before day-light, part of it to front General Wangenheim's corps at Dosdenhausen, and part to face Hille, and advanced within musket-shot of the ground of the advanced guard of the corps he was ordered to attack. His first line consisted of nine battalions, his second of nine and his re-

A. D. 1759. ſerve of three. Behind the left infantry were poſted his cavalry, in battle array, to ſupport the infantry, in caſe of need, and alſo to ſupport three brigades of foot, which was a diviſion under the command of Lieutenant General Nicolai, that joined to his left, but had no cavalry behind them. The left wing of the French army was committed to the command of Lieutenant General de Guerchi, and joined to a rivulet, which formed a kind of moraſs. The center of the Marſhal's army conſiſted of ſixty ſquadrons of horſe, without any other ſupport than the infantry, which formed the line on their right and left.

Order of battle.

This diſpoſition of the enemy was well intended, and might probably have ſucceeded to cut off Prince Ferdinand's communication with the Weſer, could they have ſurpriſed the allies. But, as his Serene Highneſs was meditating an attack upon their camp, his army was prepared againſt all events, and the reſolution of the enemy to advance and to attack his camp, was an advantage he could not expect, and enabled him with little trouble and loſs to prevent the execution of their plan at this time. Beſides the effects of Broglio's attack of Wangenheim's corps might have ſucceeded more to his favour, had he not halted, and ſuſpended the attack till Lieutenant General Nicolai's diviſion and M. de Beaupreau's had got to their ground.

Halts.

This was a very unſeaſonable delay. Succeſs on this quarter depended upon expedition and ſurpriſe. While Broglio halted, the corps he was

Unſeaſonably.

to

to attack had time to prepare for their defence. It is true; when the French began the attack, they were very briſk. As ſoon as the ſeveral diviſions were arrived at their poſts, Broglio cauſed ſome platoons of foot to advance, and charge the allied grand guards, and under favour of theſe platoons, he himſelf advanced to the ſummit of the eminence, which ran along his whole front, and entirely hid the diſpoſitions of the allies. The unconcern with which the allies in this poſt received this primary attack, and his whole diſpoſition, confirmed the ſuppoſition, upon which the marſhal had formed his plan of the attack. The poſts on that ſide appeared to be filled only with ſmall parties. But how was he ſtruck with ſurprize, when, from the ſummit of the hills, he diſcovered the main body of the allied army ranged in order of battle, and extending from the bank of the Weſer to the wood, and to the moraſs, in front of the late French camp, with the farm-houſe of Toſtenhauſen, of which they had made an entrenched poſt, in their line. A diſpoſition, which diſcouraged M. Broglio, and does great honour to the abilities of the Prince, who diſplayed his generalſhip in ſo maſterly a manner on this occaſion. For, though the Duke de Broglio made his cannon advance, which began to play about five in the morning, he could not forbear expreſſing his doubts to his general officers, and ſent an account of the diſpoſition and ſituation, in which he diſcovered the allies, ſo contrary to that, on which the plan of attack had been formed: and receiving

A. D. 1759.

Advances and attacks the guards.

Surprized at the ſight of the allies.

His meſſage to M. Contades.

ing

A. D. 1759. ing no ſatisfactory anſwer, the Duke, at laſt, diſpoſed his wing in the beſt order he could, and went himſelf to the M. Contades, in the center, for freſh orders. But it was too late now to change the plan. The Duke de Broglio had trifled away three hours in cannonading to no purpoſe againſt an army, he acknowledged too powerful for him to encounter, and Prince Ferdinand had advanced ſo far, as to threaten the center.

Goes himſelf.

Allied army formed. The allied army was, at this time, formed as follows. General Wangenheim's corps had improved the opportunity given by the halt of the Duke de Broglio, waiting for the troops under General Nicolai, and quitting their camp, paſſed through the dyke of Landwehr, and formed in order of battle, at the ſame time, with the reſt of the army: in ſuch a manner, that Wangenheim's grenadiers took poſt at the right of the batteries of Thornhauſen; the eight battalions of infantry, in the hedges of Keutenhauſen, upon the right of the grenadiers, and his eighteen ſquadrons of horſe in the open fields, upon the right of the foot. This corps, with ſome German cavalry, compoſed the left, under the Prince of Holſtein. The right conſiſted of cavalry, under Lord George Sackville, and extended towards the village of Hartum: and the center was compoſed of infantry. In the ſituation of theſe troops there happened an unavoidable misfortune. The wood on the left of the right wing, though thin and open, intercepted the ſight of the infantry in the center.

How-

However, the reſt of the country covered by this army was very open. That in front was divided into corn fields for ſome diſtance, which terminated with an open plain; whereon the piquets of the army, under the Prince of Anhalt, were drawn up: a detachment of whom, with two howitzers, drove out two battalions of the enemy from the adjacent village of Hahlen. A. D. 1759.

By this diſpoſition the French found themſelves cooped up in a moſt diſagreeable and dangerous ſituation, between the Weſer, a moraſs and the Hanoverian army. Yet there was no receding: they muſt fight at all adventures. The allies preſſed forward in eight columns: the French put on the beſt countenance their circumſtances required: and the Duke de Broglio attempted with great vigour, to penetrate between Wangenheim's corps and the main body of the allies. For which purpoſe he maintained for ſome time a ſmart fire from a battery erected on the front of his left wing. But the Count de Buckebourg, grand maſter of the artillery under the allies, was prepared with a battery of 30 pieces of cannon, in the front of the right wing, that in leſs than ten minutes, ſilenced the French, and made great havock amongſt the grenadiers and the Swiſs. The French caught in a ſnare. Obliged to fight.

This ſo checked the motions of the French, that not advancing as expected, Prince Ferdinand commanded his infantry in the center to advance againſt the center of the enemy, in which was placed the flower of their cavalry. This body conſiſted of no more than ſix regiments Attacked.

of

A. D. 1759. of Engliſh infantry, and two battalions of Hanoverian guards, who marched about 1500 paces, through an extreme ſmart cannonade from two French batteries, erected at ſome diſtance from each other, and played on them obliquely. There now remained no reſource for the French cavalry in the center, but to advance and to anticipate the approaching ſhock. But notwithſtanding the briſkneſs of their charge, they were repulſed. The brigades of foot of Touraine and Rouerge, which were on the ſame line on the right; though they kept up for awhile the fire of their muſquetry, were not able to ſtand their ground. And the enemy, in their own account of this action, confeſs that from the moment the enemy's foot fell upon the cavalry in the center, the day might have been ſuppoſed to be loſt. The Duke de Broglio, and the generals of his corps, being repulſed by the left wing, immediately determined what to do. The reſerve quickly joined Nicolai's diviſion; and thoſe two corps were conducted, by the Duke in perſon, to maſk the center in confuſion, and to make a ſort of rampart to it. This was the critical minute for the total deſtruction of the French army. But that was not to be done without cavalry to ſupport the brave corps of infantry [a], which, with unſhaken firmneſs, and with a reſolution and expertneſs in their manoeuvre ſcarce to be equalled, had driven the whole French

Broglio repulſed.

Repairs to the main body.

[a] Kingſley's, Napier's, Stuart's, Huſke's and Brudenel's regiments, the Hanoverian guards and Hardenberg's regiment.

army to the laſt diſtreſs, to ſurrender or to truſt to a dangerous flight Therefore Prince Ferdinand diſpatched Captain Wintzingerode, his aid de camp, to Lord George Sackville, with orders for his Lordſhip to advance, with the cavalry under his command, through the thin of the wood on his left, to the rear of the infantry, and to ſupport them. But inſtead of fulfilling this order with that exactneſs, preciſion and expedition, which the immediate ſervice required, Lord George is ſuppoſed to miſunderſtand the rout his troops were to take; and inſtead of taking the road through the thin of the trees on the left, he prepared to move in a direct line forwards; ordered Captain Hugo, his aid de camp, to clear his front of the Saxe Gotha regiment of foot, which had been poſted before him; ſent Captain Broome, another of his aid de camps, to reconnoitre the poſition of the enemy; and diſpatched Captain Lloyd, a third aid de camp, to find out and to bring him an account of the ſituation of the Hanoverian infantry. This delay, in about eight minutes occaſioned another order, by Captain Ligonier, from the commander in chief, to advance with the cavalry to ſeize the advantage, which then offered by the confuſion of the enemy's cavalry. His lordſhip then drew his ſword, gave the word of command to march, and moved a few paces forward: but was told by Captain Ligonier, that he was to march to the left. At this inſtant, Lieutenant-Colonel Fitzroy, a third aid de camp to Prince Ferdinand, came up to his lordſhip,

A. D. 1759.

Lord Geo. Sackville ordered to advance.

His delay.

A. D. 1759. lordſhip, and delivered an order for him to advance to the left, with the Britiſh cavalry only.

Demurs to the order. To which his lordſhip demurred, and ſaid to Captain Ligonier, that their orders were contradictory. But the Captain remarked, that they only differed in numbers, and that their deſtination was the ſame to the left: and Colonel Fitzroy offered to lead the column himſelf through the wood on the left. After much altercation about the conſiſtency and propriety of the order, his lordſhip perſiſting in his being diſſatisfied with the order, reſolved to leave his diviſion and to ride in queſt of the Prince to have it explained. But as he followed Colonel Fitzroy to the Prince through the woods, and the road he was ordered to take, and not finding them ſo impaſſable as he had conceived, his lordſhip ſent back Captain Smith, one of his aid de camps, to bring up the Britiſh cavalry. His Serene Highneſs, diſſatisfied with this conduct and delay, and convinced of the neceſſity of immediate ſupport for the infantry, to complete the ſucceſs and glory of the day, thought it expedient to ſend the ſame orders to the Marquis of Granby, before Lord George came up. Lord Granby, who commanded the ſecond line of cavalry, did not heſitate a moment. He took his rout to the left: and while Lord George was taking the Princes orders, ſhewed him the line of cavalry coming through the wood. His Serene Highneſs then gave his lordſhip his final orders, to form the cavalry on the heath, and to ſupport the infantry: which Lord George proceeded

Rides to ſeek the Prince.

Orders ſent to the Marquis of Granby.

Lord Granby immediately obeys.



MARQUIS of GRANBY.

ceeded to put in execution; came up with his division and placed himſelf at the head, after it had got through the wood, and conducted it to the rear of the infantry: but now it was too late for the purpoſes intended. Broglio availed himſelf of theſe delays. He covered their retreat under favour of the good countenance of the right, the center repaſſed the rivulet, and went and formed in order of battle in their old camp. The left followed it, as did likewiſe the cavalry of the right. The infantry of the right remained in the hedges, under the cannon of Minden; breaking down the bridges to prevent a purſuit over the marſh. A. D 1759. Favourable to the French. Who retreat.

The French account adds, "There was nothing "to oblige us to retire further: and the battle "would have been nothing but an attack, for "which we were to make repriſals. But juſt as "the enemy threatned the center, the marſhal "received advice from M. de Briſac, who was "poſted at Coesfeldt with a body of troops to ſe- "cure the communication with Hervorden, that "the hereditary Prince of Brunſwick had attacked "him at half an hour after five in the morning, "with 10,000 men and forced him to retire to "Minden. This blow rendering the Prince ma- "ſter of the paſſes, the marſhal reſolved to place "his army on the other ſide of the Weſer. And "the moſt ſurprizing thing of this day's action "was, Prince Ferdinand's judgment and bold- "neſs in ſending out a detachment of 10,000 "men, French account.

A. D. 1759. "men, the moment he was going to engage a "ſuperior army."

Prince Ferdinand in his account of this battle, takes no praiſe to himſelf, but highly extols the courage and conduct of thoſe, that bore the heat of the action. "The Britiſh infantry, who were "there, ſays that account, as well as the Han- "overian guards, performed wonders. Every "regiment that was engaged diſtinguiſhed itſelf "highly, and not a platoon in the whole army "gave way one ſingle ſtep, during the whole "action." In which commendations that Prince, commander in chief, was more particular the day after the battle: when he ordered his greateſt thanks to be given the whole army for their bravery and good behaviour yeſterday, particularly to the Britiſh infantry, and the two battalions of Hanoverian guards; to all the cavalry of the left wing, and to General Wangenheim's corps, particularly the regiment of Holſtein, the Heſſian cavalry, the Hanoverian regiment du Corps and Hamerſtin's; the ſame to all the brigades of heavy artillery. His Serene Highneſs declared publickly, that next to God he attributed the glory of the day to the intrepidity and extraordinary good behaviour of theſe troops, which he aſſured them he ſhould retain the ſtrongeſt ſenſe of, as long as he lived; and if ever upon any occaſion he ſhould be able to ſerve theſe brave troops, or any of them in particular, it would give him the utmoſt pleaſure. His Serene Highneſs ordered his particular thanks to be likewiſe given to General Sporcken,

Prince Ferdinand's thanks to the army.





GENERAL KINGSLEY.

ken, the Duke of Holſtein, Lieutenant-Generals Imhoff and Urff. His Serene Highneſs expreſſed his extreme obligation to the Count de Buckeburg, for his extraordinary care and trouble in the management of the artillery, which was ſerved with great effect; likewiſe to the commanding officers of the ſeveral brigades of artillery, viz. Colonel Browne, Lieutenant-Colonel Hutte, Major Haſſe, and the three Engliſh Captains, Phillips, Drummond, and Foy. His Serene Highneſs declared himſelf infinitely obliged to Major-Generals Waldegrave and Kingſley, for their great courage and good order, in which they conducted their brigades. *His Serene Highneſs further ordered it to be declared to Lieutenant-General the Marquis of Granby, that he was perſuaded, that if he had had the good fortune to have had him at the head of the cavalry of the right wing, his preſence would have greatly contributed to make the deciſion of that day more complete and more brilliant.* In ſhort, his Serene Highneſs ordered, that thoſe of his Suite, whoſe behaviour he moſt admired, be named, as the Duke of Richmond, Colonel Fitzroy, Captain Ligonier, Colonel Watſon, Captain Wilſon aid de camp to Major-General Waldegrave, Adjutant-Generals Erſtoff, Bulow, Durendolle, the Count Tobe and Malerti; his Serene Highneſs having much reaſon to be ſatisfied with their conduct. *And his Serene Highneſs deſired and ordered the generals of the army, that upon all occaſions, when orders were brought to them by his aid de camps, that they be obeyed punctually, and without delay.* A. D. 1759.

A. D. 1759. Loſs on both ſides.

A conſiderable number of priſoners were taken, both in the field of battle and in the purſuit; beſides deſerters, who came in by whole columns. The killed and wounded did not amount to leſs than 8000 men. The Prince de Chimai, or Camille, was killed: the Duke de Montmorenci, the Marquis de Monti, and many other general officers and perſons of diſtinction were wounded. They were obliged to leave 30 pieces of cannon in the field, and loſt ten pair of colours and ſeven ſtandards. Afterwards, on the 5th, General Urff took at Detmold all the heavy baggage of the enemy, with an eſcort of 800 men, part horſe, part foot. An immenſe booty, in which was found 40,000 florins, belonging to the Saxon military cheſt: the baggage of M. Contades, of the Prince of Conde, of Count de St. Germain, of the Duke of Briſac; and the archieves and ſome papers of great importance. To theſe loſſes were added ſome others not leſs felt by the enemy, as the magazines at Oſnaburg, Minden, Bielfeldt, Paderborn, &c.

On the part of the allies, the killed and wounded did not exceed 1000, amongſt whom was not found one officer of diſtinction. In this number the greateſt loſs was amongſt the Engliſh [b].

The

[b] *A liſt of the killed, wounded, and miſſing, in his Majeſty's ſix regiments of Britiſh infantry and artillery, in the above-mentioned battle of Thornhauſen.*

12th Regiment, Major-General Napier. Killed, Lieutenants Falkingham, Probyn, and Townſhend, four ſerjeants, one drummer, 77 rank and file. — Wounded, Lieutenant-Colonel

The advantages of this victory were enlarged by the ſucceſs of the hereditary Prince, on the ſame

A. D. 1759. Duke of Briſac defeated.

Colonel Robinſon, Captains Murray, Clowdeſly, and Campbell, Captain-Lieutenant Dunbar, Lieutenants Fletcher, Barlow, Lawleſs, Freeman, Campbell, and Roſe, Enſigns Forbes, Parkhill, and Kay, 11 ſerjeants, four drummers, 175 rank and file.—Miſſing, Captains Chalbert and Ackland, 11 rank and file.

20th Regiment, Major-General Kingſley. Killed, Captains Frierſon, Stewart, and Cowley. Lieutenants Brown and Norbury, Enſign Crawford, one ſerjeant, 79 rank and file.—Wounded, Captains Grey, Parr, and Tennent, Captain-Lieutenant Parry, Lieutenants Luke Nugent, Thomſon, Denſhire, and Boſwell, Enſigns Erwin, Dent, and Renton, 12 ſerjeants, 212 rank and file.

23d Regiment, Lieutenant-General Huſke. Killed, Four ſerjeants, 31 rank and file.—Wounded, Lieutenant-Colonel Pole, Captains Fowler and Fox, Captain-Lieutenant Bolton, Firſt-Lieutenants Orpin, Reynell, Groves, Barber, and Patterſon, Second-Lieutenant Ferguſon, ſix ſerjeants, three drummers, 153 rank and file.—Miſſing, Ten rank and file.

25th Regiment, Lieutenant-General Earl of Home. Killed, One ſerjeant, 18 rank and file.—Wounded, Captain Gore, Lieutenants A. Campbell, Sterrop and Wilſon, Enſigns Pintard, Edgar and Lockhart, four ſerjeants, 115 rank and file.—Miſſing, Nine rank and file.

37th Regiment, Lieutenant-General Stuart. Killed, Lieutenant and Adjutant Green, one ſerjeant, 41 rank and file.—Wounded, Captains Cliffe, Bayly, Blunt, Græme, Parkhurſt, and Lord Viſcount Allen, Lieutenants Smith, Barbutt, Spencer, Slorach, and Hamilton, Enſign Elliot, four ſerjeants, four drummers, 180 rank and file.—Dead of their wounds, Captain-Lieutenant Hutchinſon, Lieutenant Brome, —Miſſing, Twenty two rank and file.

51ſt Regiment, Colonel Brudenel. Killed, Lieutenant and Adjutant Widdows, 20 rank and file.—Wounded, Lieutenant-

A. D. 1759. ſame day, detached with 10,000 men, juſt on the eve of a battle, with an army much ſuperior to his own when united. M. Contades had poſted the Duke of Briſac, with a corps of ſeven or 8000 men near Coesfeldt to guard his convoys, and to keep poſſeſſion of the paſſes in his rear. This general encamped ſo advantageouſly on the 31ſt of July at night, with his left to the village of Coesfeldt, his right to the Saltpits, and his front to the Werta, that there was no attack could be made in the front; nor any other way to come at him, but by ſurrounding his left.

The hereditary Prince found the enemy in this ſituation on the 1ſt of Auguſt, and as his orders were to fight, he never boggled at the difficulty, nor danger. Having reconnoitred the ſituation of the Duke of Briſac's army, the Prince reſolved to form three attacks at once: all of which were to depend on the ſucceſs of that on the right.

Colonel Furye, Captains Montgomery, Blair, Donnellan, and Walker, Lieutenants Gordon, Knollis, and Green, Enſign Peake, three ſerjeants, 75 rank and file.—Miſſing, One ſerjeant, four rank and file.

Royal Regiment of Artillery. Killed, two rank and file.—Wounded, Lieutenants Rogers and Harrington, one ſerjeant, nine rank and file.—Miſſing, Lieutenant Carden, two rank and file.

Total killed, three captains, ſeven lieutenants, one enſign, 11 ſerjeants, one drummer, and 269 rank and file.—Wounded, three lieutenant-colonels, 23 captains, 28 lieutenants, 12 enſigns, 41 ſerjeants, 11 drummers, and 919 rank and file.—Miſſing, two captains, two lieutenants, one ſerjeant, 58 rank and file.—Dead of their wounds, one captain-lieutenant, one lieutenant.

The

The troops deſtined for that attack conſiſted of a battalion of Diepenbroick, two of the Brunſwick guards, 200 volunteers, and four ſquadrons of Bock's dragoons; the four battalions of Old Zaſtrow, Bohr, Boch, and Canitz, and one ſquadron of Charles Breitenbach, with all the heavy cannon, compoſed the center; the left was formed of three battalions, Boch, Dreves, and Zaſtrow, and of four ſquadrons of Buſch. The troops of the center were deſigned to keep the enemy at bay, whilſt thoſe of the right ſhould ſurround their left; thoſe of the left were to march to the bridge near the ſalt-pits, in order to prevent the enemy's retreat to Minden. The hereditary Prince marched with the right; Count Kielmanſegge was in the center; and M. de Dreves and M. de Boch brought up the left. In this order they ſet out at three o'clock from their camp at Quernam, and found that the enemy, on their part, had likewiſe intended to attack them: for, as ſoon as Count Kielmanſegge was come out of the defile of Beck, the enemy preſented themſelves before him; and a cannonade began on both ſides. The right was to paſs the Werta, in order to turn the enemy's left, at the village of Kirchlinger, upon a very narrow bridge. This difficulty however was in ſome meaſure removed by the ſpirit of the troops, the infantry fording the river, by the Prince's example, partly behind the horſemen, and partly in peaſants waggons. By the paſſage of the Werta, the poſition of the enemy was entirely changed; the fire of the artillery was briſk on both ſides,

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A. D. 1759. and laſted for two hours; but that of the allies had always the ſuperiority. At laſt, upon the Hanoverians ſhewing themſelves upon their rear, they immediately gave way, and, in filing off, came upon the ſkirts of M. de Boch, who received them with a diſcharge of artillery, which was well ſupported. When, finding themſelves entirely ſurrounded, they had no other reſource but in flight; leaving five pieces of cannon and their baggage.

Loſs. The allies in this action loſt only 300 men; but the ſlaughter of the French was very conſiderable: for the field of battle was covered with a vaſt quantity of arms, and ſuch number of the ſlain, that, 2000 peaſants were full employed for ſome days to bury the dead.

M. Contades abandons Minden. The French army, under M. Contades, finding that it would be impoſſible for him to maintain his poſt at Minden, that no way was left him to retreat, but by Eimbeck, and that his parties were purſued and harraſſed every where, made a very ſhort halt at Minden, where he left 300 men to favour his eſcape, who next day were obliged to ſurrender priſoners of war, and to open the gates to the victorious army under Prince Ferdinand, on the 2d of Auguſt about noon: who being informed that the enemy had taken the rout of Heſſe, immediately made diſpoſitions to purſue them. The hereditary Prince was ordered, with 15,000 men and all the light troops, to paſs the Weſer, at Hamelen; which he effected between the 4th and 5th, and had continual ſkirmiſhes

Minden ſurrenders to Prince Ferdinand.

Allies purſue the French.

miſhes with the enemy. And the reſt of the army marched under the command of Prince Ferdinand himſelf, on the 4th to Coesfeldt, and directly forward to Paderborn. The hereditary Prince came up with the main body of the French at Eimbeck, and cannonaded them with ſucceſs: his light troops in the next night took 200 priſoners, and on the 10th he attacked the enemy's rear, and took 50 waggons laden with proviſions. A. D. 1759.

The allied army reached Delem on the 11th, and on the 13th entered the country of Waldeck, with intention to gain the flank of the enemy, poſted at that time in the neighbourhood of Caſſel. While this was endeavoured, M. Contades thought it moſt adviſeable to decamp, and to abandon that city to the mercy of the Hanoverian chaſſeurs, whoſe commander, Major Fridricks, on the 19th, ſummoned it, and after exchanging a few ſhot, the garriſon of 400 men, and 1500 wounded, ſurrendered priſoners of war. Here fell a conſiderable magazine alſo into the hands of the allies. In the mean time Luckner's huſſars routed a ſtrong party of the enemy at Volckmiſſen on the 15th: the hereditary Prince diſlodged a part of M. d'Armentiere's corps at Woſshagen on the 17th; and the Duke of Holſtein, in ſight of the enemy's grand army, on the ſame day, took, ſword in hand, a whole battalion of the grenadiers royaux, at Naumberg. General Imhoff was likewiſe detached with a ſtrong corps to beſiege Munſter. Caſſel evacuated by the French.

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The bad ſituation of M. Contades.

Thus M. Contades was obliged to quit his ſtrong poſt near Minden; to paſs the Weſer; to retreat eaſtward of that river, through a country badly provided for ſubſiſtence, and where he had taken no meaſures for his ſupport againſt ſuch an event, and, in fine, to forfeit all the advantages he had gained during the whole campaign.

Inſinuations againſt the abilities, &c. of Prince Ferdinand.

How admirable ſoever the conduct of Prince Ferdinand appeared in the manœuvres, which brought on the battle, and in the maſterly motions, which drew the cautious French marſhal out of his impregnable camp: however bravely the battle was won by his ſuperior ſkill, and courage of his troops: and however great were the effects of this victory; his Serene Highneſs has been repreſented in a light, which, if deſerved, would ſtrip him of all the merit, due to a triumphant victorious general. Prince Ferdinand, on the contrary, diſapproved of the conduct of the commander in chief of the Britiſh forces within his command [e].

And

[e] *Letter from Prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, to* *** ****.

Moſt Sacred!

"The enemy having called in all their ſmall detachments, this diſcovery engaged me to give the army, at five o'clock in the afternoon, orders to hold themſelves in readineſs to march at one o'clock in the morning, on the 1ſt of Auguſt, the cavalry expreſsly, to be ſaddled at that hour. I recommended it to all the advanced poſts to be very attentive, and to inform me of the leaſt motion they ſhould obſerve during the night. It paſſed without my receiving any intelligence. About three in the morning, M. de Redan, adjutant-general, informed me of the arrival of two deſerters, with the news, that the army

of

And we ſhall ſee, that this victory was not ſo complete, as to deprive the French of the means to A. D. 1759.

of the enemy was marching to attack me, and that they had paſſed the Marſh at midnight. Theſe deſerters came to Hactim at ten o'clock in the evening, but how important ſoever was the news they brought, it did not reach me 'till towards three in the morning. That I ſhould loſe no time, I ſent every aid de camp I had about to the camp, in order to make the army move without the leaſt delay. I was obeyed with great readineſs, except by the cavalry on the right; which, notwithſtanding my former orders, were not ſaddled; and one of whom, the conductor, L. G. S. did not come to his poſt till very late. According to my order of battle, the cavalry on the wings, and the infantry in the center. The enemy had on the contrary, placed the cavalry in the center, and their infantry on the wings. The Britiſh infantry attacked with an amazing intrepidity. The ſucceſs of it was ſo great, that the cavalry of the enemy, which was facing your brave infantry, was routed, and totally put in confuſion. This was the moment for the cavalry to have compleated the defeat of the enemy. I ſent my aid de camp, Captain Ligonier, to L. G. S. with orders to advance with the cavalry, in order to make the moſt of the advantages, which the infantry had juſt obtained. My aid de camp, Captain Winchenzerode, was ſent by me to L. G. S. with a like commiſſion. My lord feigned at firſt, not to comprehend the orders, which he carried: at length he ſeemed to give way to them, and concluded with doing nothing.

Before Ligonier came back, the cavalry of the enemy had rallied, and returned to the charge, ſupported by the Saxon infantry, and a very briſk cannonade, which took our infantry obliquely in front, and directly in flank. M. Fitzroy was then ſent to L. G. S. to preſs him to advance, without loſs of time, to ſupport the infantry, which ſuffered; but he did nothing. Expecting, with reaſon, to find a diſpoſition in Lord G——y to diſtinguiſh himſelf, I ſent Colonel Webb to him with

A. D. 1759. to recover their ſtrength, and to maintain their ground.

Prince

with my orders to advance with the ſecond line of the cavalry; but L. G. S. hindered him, by ſtopping him from advancing. Colonel Fitzroy and Captain Ligonier returned, and told me, that the cavalry had not ſtirred one ſtep: notwithſtanding my orders, L. G. S. did not give credit to what they had told him; ſaid, that he did not underſtand what they had ſaid; and that he would come and ſpeak to me himſelf. He came, and in ſhort found me: I repeated to him what Ligonier and Fitzroy had told him from me; but the cavalry never advanced near enough, either to gather the laurels which your infantry had prepared for them, or to protect them while they ſuffered. In ſhort, L. G. S. very far from repairing the fault, which the cavalry on the right had committed, in not being ſaddled at the appointed time, and which he himſelf had committed, in not having remedied it in time, and alſo in his coming too late to his poſt; in not doubling his pace during his march, to regain the time he loſt alſo; and the greateſt opportunity which has, perhaps, ever exiſted to acquire glory, which was not only offered him, but he was commanded to ſeize; the cavalry remained, during the whole action, out of cannon ſhot. Toward the end of the action, the Duke of Richmond went from me, with orders for L. G. S. to advance the cavalry to the edge of the marſh, which was executed.

I confeſs I cannot but think with great vexation of the conduct of L. G. S. and I cannot but declare, on the contrary, the good opinion I had of Lord G——y, from the readineſs he ſhewed to execute my orders, by whomſoever they were brought; which leaves me no room to doubt, conſidering the favourable opportunity, which the cavalry had to act in, that they would have rendered this victory as deciſive, as any ever had been. If L. G. S. who had been inſenſible to the fine opportunity, which he had to acquire glory, was offended at the acknowledgment, which I made in favour of Lord G— y,

accord-

Prince Ferdinand is not allowed by ſome people, to have made thoſe maſterly motions, which drew the French out of their camp, with any ſuch deſign: and they go ſo far as to accuſe him of ſo great ignorance, or inattention, that he had not provided a ſufficient communication to ſupport the detached camp on the bank of the river, and that General Wangenheim's corps muſt have there been cut off, and his whole army ſurprized, had the Duke de Broglio obeyed his orders with vigour and punctuality. And in order to account for the duke's halting ſo unſeaſonably, it is pretended, that his Grace acted in that dilatory manner to deprive M. Contades of that favour, in which a victory would have eſtabliſhed him at court, and thereby to ſupplant him in the chief command, to which the Duke de Broglio zealouſly aſpired. What were the motives of Broglio's conduct in that particular is not material, in the vindication of Prince Ferdinand. His ambition might lead him to behave in ſuch a manner,

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Duke of Broglio aſperſed.

according to his manner, he could not avoid thinking it an indirect cenſure of his own particular conduct. He wrote me a letter, by which he thought proper to demand from me, to recal the compliments, which I had made to Lord G——y. I anſwered him abſolutely in the negative. My L. G. S. then ſet himſelf about propagating many falſe reports in the army; which determined me, at laſt, to write to your m———y on this particular ſubject. My L. G. S. a few days after my letter went off, received his recal. He then appeared to be ſtruck with it, and wrote me a letter to complain of his fate; ſince which there has been no interview between him and me."

as

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as to bring diſgrace upon the only man, he apprehended, ſtood in his way to promotion. But the French themſelves were convinced of the perfect and finiſhed pieces of generalſhip exhibited in the motions of Prince Ferdinand; and the ruinous ſituation, within which the French found their army circumſcribed, ſo as not to be in a condition to exert their whole ſtrength, and to be defeated, with ſuch conſiderable loſs, by a handful of the allies, are ſtubborn facts, that prove both the ſkill and attention of his Serene Highneſs; without entering into the reaſons and foreſight of thoſe orders, which he iſſued on the evening of the 31ſt of July, for attacking the enemy the next day.

Prince Ferdinand defended.

Reaſons for his complaint.

The ſubject of Prince Ferdinand's complaint aroſe from what he conceived injurious to the ſervice, and diſobedience to his orders by Lord George Sackville; who had not obeyed the order delivered to the general officers, the evening before, to be at their poſts by a certain hour; nor thought any thing of an action, till he was awakened by the diſcharge of the enemy's cannon: and who, inſtead of proceeding immediately through the wood on the left, according to orders, to ſupport the infantry, that were driving the enemy before them, loſt the opportunity of totally deſtroying the French army, by doubts and explanations, which neither the caſe required, nor the time would admit. This was the reaſon, why the Prince ſent his ulterior orders to the Marquis of Granby to advance with the cavalry. But it was then too late to execute the finiſhing ſtroke of the

grand ſcheme to ruin the French army. The Prince reſented Lord George's conduct, and therefore you have read in the order of thanks, That his lordſhip is not mentioned in the number of thoſe officers, whom the commander in chief honoured with his approbation and commendation, on the account of their diſtinguiſhing behaviour in the time of action [d]. A. D. 1759.

His diſlike of the conduct of Lord Geo. Sackville.

This

[d] The Prince, upon reviſing the order of thanks, obſerving an omiſſion of Captain Macbean, wrote the following letter in his own hand, which was delivered to him by Count la Lippe Buckeburg.

"SIR,

It is from a ſenſe of your merit, and a regard to juſtice, that I do in this manner declare, I have reaſon to be infinitely ſatisfied with your behaviour, activity, and zeal, which in ſo conſpicuous a manner you made appear, at the battle of Thornhauſen, on the 1ſt of Auguſt. The talents, which you poſſeſs in your profeſſion, did not a little contribute to render our fire ſuperior to that of the enemy; and it is to you and your brigade that I am indebted for having ſilenced the fire of a battery of the enemy, which extremely galled the troops, and particularly the Britiſh infantry.

Accept then, Sir, from me, the juſt tribute of my moſt perfect acknowledgments, accompanied with my ſincere thanks. I ſhall be happy in every opportunity of obliging you, deſiring only occaſions to prove it, being with the moſt diſtinguiſhed eſteem,

Your devoted, and
entirely affectionate ſervant,
FERDINAND,
Duke of Brunſwick and Lunenburg."

And his Serene Highneſs again on the 3d, iſſued another order, viz.

"In

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How felt by that Lord.

His letter to Colonel Fitzroy.

This token of Prince Ferdinand's diſlike was ſenſibly felt by the Engliſh commander in chief, as appears by his letter to Colonel Fitzroy, dated at Minden on the 3d of Auguſt, in which he complains of being judged, condemned and cenſured in a moſt cruel and unprecedented manner; endeavours to exculpate himſelf, and throws out ſeveral hints to the prejudice of the Prince [e]. To which Colonel Fitzroy replied as follows:

"My

"In the compliment his Serene Highneſs made to the troops yeſterday, he forgot four regiments, that particularly diſtinguiſhed themſelves, viz. Hardenburg's third battalion of Heſſian guards, Prince William's, and Gillſe's: it is not that his Serene Highneſs has reaſon to complain of any others, but as they had particular opportunities of diſtinguiſhing themſelves, it is for that reaſon his Serene Highneſs mentions the attention he himſelf gives to their good conduct,"

Soon after another order came out to the following effect: "His Serene Highneſs Duke Ferdinand ſent orders to Monſieur Hedeman his treaſurer, to pay the following officers of the Britiſh artillery, the under-mentioned gratuities, as a teſtimony of his great ſatisfaction of their gallant behaviour in the late action of the firſt of this month:

To Captain Philips	1000 crowns.
To Captain Mackbean	500
To Captain Drummond	500
To Captain Williams	500
To Captain Foy	500

I hope the ſaid gentlemen will accept of this preſent from his Highneſs, as a mark of his particular eſteem for them."

[e] "Dear Sir,

The orders of yeſterday, you may believe, affect me very ſenſibly. His Serene Highneſs has been pleaſed to judge, con-

" My Lord, A. D. 1759.

His Serene Highneſs, upon ſome report made to him by the Duke of Richmond, of the ſituation of the enemy, ſent Captain Ligonier and my-

condemn, and cenſure without hearing me, in the moſt cruel and unprecedented manner; as he never aſked me a ſingle queſtion in explanation of any thing he might diſapprove: And as he muſt have formed his opinion on the report of others, it was ſtill harder he would not give me an opportunity of firſt ſpeaking to him upon the ſubject: But you know, even in more trifling matters, that hard blows are ſometimes unexpectedly given. If any body has a right to ſay that I heſitated in obeying orders, it is you. I will relate what I know of that, and then appeal to you for the truth of it.

When you brought me orders to advance with the Britiſh cavalry, I was then very near the village of Halen, I think it is called, I mean that place, which the Saxons burnt. I was there advanced by M. Malhorte's order, and no further, when you came to me. Ligonier followed almoſt inſtantly; he ſaid, the cavalry was to advance. I was puzzled what to do, and begged the favour of you to carry me to the Duke, that I might aſk an explanation of his orders:—But that no time might be loſt, I ſent Smith with orders to bring on the Britiſh cavalry, as they had a wood before they could advance, as you directed; and I reckoned, by the time I had ſeen his Serene Highneſs, I ſhould find them forming beyond the wood.—This proceeding of mine might poſſibly be wrong; but I am ſure the ſervice could not ſuffer, as no delay was occaſioned by it.—The Duke then ordered me to leave ſome ſquadrons upon the right, which I did, and to advance the reſt to ſupport the infantry. This I declare I did, as faſt as I imagined it was right for cavalry to march in line.—I once halted by Lord Granby, to compleat my forming the whole. Upon his advancing the left before the right, I again ſent to him

A. D. 1759. myſelf with orders for the Britiſh cavalry to advance.—His Serene Highneſs was, at this inſtant, him to ſtop:——he ſaid, as the Prince had ordered us to advance, he thought we ſhould move forward.—I then let him proceed at the rate he liked, and kept my right up with him as regular as I could, 'till we got to the rear of the infantry and our batteries.—We both halted together, and afterwards received no order, 'till that which was brought by Colonel Web and the Duke of Richmond, to exten in one line towards the Moraſs.—It was accordingly executed; and then, inſtead of finding the enemy's cavalry to charge, as I expected, the battle was declared to be gained, and we were told to diſmount our men.

This, I proteſt, is all I know of the matter, and I was never ſo ſurprized, as when I heard the Prince was diſſatisfied that the cavalry did not move ſooner up to the infantry.—It is not my buſineſs to aſk, what the diſpoſition originally was, or to find fault with any thing.——All I inſiſt upon is, that I obeyed the orders I received, as punctually as I was able; and if it was to do over again, I do not think I would have executed them ten minutes ſooner than I did, now I know the ground, and what was expected; but indeed we were above an hour too late, if it was the Duke's intention to have made the cavalry paſs before our infantry and artillery, and charge the enemy's line.—I cannot think that was his meaning, as all the orders ran to ſuſtain our infantry:—and it appears, that both Lord Granby and I underſtood we were at our poſts, by our halting, when we got to the rear of our foot.

I hope I have ſtated impartially the part of this tranſaction, that comes within your knowledge.—If I have, I muſt beg you would declare it, ſo as I may make uſe of it in your abſence: for it is impoſſible to ſit ſilent under ſuch reproach, when I am conſcious of having done the beſt that was in my power.—For God's ſake, let me ſee you, before you go for England. I am, dear Sir,

Your faithful
Humble Servant,
GEORGE SACKVILLE."

one

one or two brigades beyond the Engliſh infantry, towards the left.—Upon my arrival on the right of the cavalry, I found Captain Ligonier with your Lordſhip.—Notwithſtanding, I declared his Serene Highneſs's orders to you: Upon which you deſired I would not be in an hurry.—I made anſwer, that galloping had put me out of breath, which made me ſpeak very quick.——I then repeated the orders for the Britiſh cavalry to advance towards the left, and, at the ſame time, mentioning the circumſtance, that occaſioned the orders, added, "That it was a glorious opportunity for "the Engliſh to diſtinguiſh themſelves, and that "your Lordſhip, by leading them on, would "gain immortal honour." A. D. 1759.

You yet expreſſed your ſurprize at the order, ſaying, it was impoſſible the Duke could mean to break the line.—My anſwer was, that I delivered his Serene Highneſs's orders, word for word, as he gave them.——Upon which you aſked, which way the cavalry was to march, and who was to be their guide.——I undertook to lead them towards the left, round the little wood on their left, as they were then drawn up, where they might be little expoſed to the enemy's cannonade.

Your Lordſhip continued to think my orders neither clear nor exactly delivered; and expreſſing your deſire to ſee Prince Ferdinand, ordered me to lead you to him; which order I was obeying when we met his Serene Highneſs.—During this time I did not ſee the cavalry advance.——Cap-

A. D. 1759. tain Smith [f], one of your aids de camp, once or twice made me repeat the orders I had before delivered to your Lordſhip; and I hope he will do me the juſtice to ſay, they were clear and exact. —He went up to you, whilſt we were going to find the Duke, as I imagine, being ſenſible of the clearneſs of my orders, and the neceſſity of their being immediately obeyed.——I heard your

[f] *Copy of the Declaration of Captain Smith, aid de camp to Lord George Sackville.*

Minden, Auguſt 3, 1759.

What I have to ſay with regard to the orders Colonel Fitzroy brought, and to their not being put in execution, is——I heard Lord George Sackville ſay, on his receiving them, as they differed from thoſe he had juſt before received by Captain Ligonier, he would ſpeak to the Prince himſelf, and accordingly put his horſe in a gallop to go to him. I immediately went up to Colonel Fitzroy, and made him repeat the orders to me twice.—I thought it ſo clear and poſitive for the Britiſh cavalry only to advance, where he ſhould lead, that I took the liberty to ſay to his Lordſhip, I did think they were ſo; and offered to go and fetch them, while he went to the Prince, that no time might be loſt. His anſwer was, he had alſo an order from the Prince, from Mr. Ligonier, for the whole wing to come away, and he thought it impoſſible the Prince could mean that. I replied, that if he would allow me to fetch the Britiſh, they were but a part, and if it was wrong, they could ſoon remedy the fault.——He ſaid, then do it as faſt as you can.—Accordingly I went, as faſt as my horſe could go, to General Moſtyn.—He knows the reſt.—— This is all that paſs'd, as near as I can recollect.—It was ſpoke as we galloped, and could not be long about, as I have been on the ground ſince, and do not believe, when his Lordſhip ſent me back, I had above ſix hundred yards to go to General Moſtyn.

J. SMITH.

Lord-

Lordſhip give him ſome orders.——What they were I cannot ſay—but he immediately rode back towards the cavalry. A. D. 1759.

Upon my joining the Duke, I repeated to him the orders I had delivered to you, and appealing to his Serene Highneſs, to know whether they were the ſame he had honoured me with, I had the ſatisfaction to hear him declare, they were very exact.——His Serene Highneſs immediately aſked where the cavalry was; and upon my making anſwer, that Lord George did not underſtand the order, but was coming to ſpeak to his Serene Highneſs, he expreſſed his ſurprize ſtrongly.

I hope your Lordſhip will think I did nothing but my duty, as aid de camp, in mentioning to his Serene Highneſs my orders being ſo much queſtioned by your Lordſhip.

I am, &c.

Repeated orders of thanks continuing to do honour to the reſt of the officers and corps, without taking any notice of his Lordſhip, his ſituation grew very uneaſy, and in prudence he endeavoured to acquire ſuch atteſtations of his readineſs to obey orders, as he was able; of which the letter from Colonel Fitzroy and Captain Smith's declaration, are the only pieces that have been made public. His next care was to recriminate, or to ſet forth Prince Ferdinand in a diſagreeable attitude, uncapable and revengeful. But this part of his defence was moſt prudently reſerved till his Lordſhip could obtain his Ma-

Lord George ſollicits for leave to return to England.

Reſolves to recriminate.

A. D. 1759. jeſty's leave to reſign, and to return to England. Which part of his Lordſhip's conduct will appear more apt in his own addreſs to the public, on his arrival at London, than in any other manner; wherein he ſays, "The various reports that have been propagated to my diſadvantage, and the many falſhoods, which have been aſſerted to ruin my character, lay me under the neceſſity of remaining not entirely ſilent, though I am debarred at preſent from ſtating my caſe to the public, as I ſhould have done, had I not had aſſurances of obtaining a court-martial for my trial, the only legal and effectual method of convincing the world, how little foundation there has been for the torrent of calumny and abuſe, which has been ſo maliciouſly thrown out againſt me.

His addreſs to the public.

I had rather upon this occaſion, ſubmit myſelf to all the inconveniencies that may ariſe from the want of ſtile, than borrow aſſiſtance from the pen of others, as I can have no hopes of eſtabliſhing my character, but from the force of truth. I ſhall therefore, as plainly and diſtinctly as poſſible, relate a few circumſtances, which will at leaſt ſhew, that no body could be more deſirous than I was to bring truth to light, and ſubject my conduct to the ſtricteſt ſcrutiny.

The inſtant I found by the implied cenſure given out in orders the 2d of Auguſt, that my conduct had appeared in an unfavourable light to Prince Ferdinand, on the day of action, I endeavoured to inform myſelf in what particular I had either failed in or neglected my duty; I heard in gene-

general of DISOBEDIENCE OF ORDERS; but I could fix no certain period of time to my ſuppoſed crime, till Colonel Fitzroy acquainted me with what had paſſed between his Serene Highneſs and him upon my ſubject, in regard to the orders delivered to me by him (Colonel Fitzroy) that day: whenever my trial comes, I ſhall endeavour to clear up that point to the ſatisfaction of the public: my own aſſertions may have little weight, but the oaths of witneſſes, whoſe veracity cannot be called in queſtion, will, I truſt, prove my innocence beyond the poſſibility of doubt. A. D. 1759.

Under theſe circumſtances, I immediately applied for his Majeſty's permiſſion to return to England, that I might anſwer any accuſation, that ſhould be brought againſt me; for as commander in chief of the Britiſh forces in Germany, *no perſon there could order a court-martial for my trial*, had there been an accuſation laid; the power of ſummoning courts-martial and approving their ſentences, was veſted in me by my commiſſion, and no Britiſh officer or ſoldier could be tried by any other authority.

As ſoon as I arrived in London, on Friday evening the 7th, I inſtantly wrote the following letter to the ſecretary of ſtate.

" My Lord,

" I have the honour of acquainting your Lord-
" ſhip with my arrival in England, in purſuance
" of his Majeſty's permiſſion, ſent to me, at my
" requeſt, by your Lordſhip.

A. D. 1759.

"I thought myſelf much injured abroad by "an implied cenſure upon my conduct; I find "I am ſtill more unfortunate at home, by be- "ing publickly repreſented as having neglected "my duty in the ſtrongeſt manner, by diſobey- "ing the poſitive orders of his Serene Highneſs "Prince Ferdinand: as I am conſcious of neither "NEGLECT, nor DISOBEDIENCE of orders; as "I am certain I did my duty to the utmoſt of "my abilities; and as I am perſuaded that the "Prince himſelf would have found, that he had "no juſt cauſe of complaint againſt me, had he "condeſcended to have enquired into my con- "duct, before he had expreſſed his diſapproba- "tion of it, from the partial repreſentation of "others: I therefore moſt humbly requeſt that I "may at laſt have a public opportunity given me "of attempting to juſtify myſelf to his Majeſty, "and to my country, by a court-martial being "appointed; that if I am guilty I may ſuffer "ſuch puniſhment as I may have deſerved; and if "innocent, that I may ſtand acquitted in the opi- "nion of the world: but it is really too ſevere "to have been cenſured unheard, to have been "condemned before I was tried, and to be in- "formed neither of my crime, nor of my ac- "cuſers. I am,

"My Lord, &c. &c. &c.

"GEO. SACKVILLE."

I received an anſwer to this letter on Monday the 10th, in which I was aſſured, that a court-martial,

tial, upon my application, would be granted, as soon as the officers capable of giving evidence could leave their posts; but previously to the receipt of that letter, *I was dismissed from all my military employments* [g]." A. D. 1759.

The public also were greatly dissatisfied with his Lordship, and were very clamorous for justice. This produced a variety of arguments in defence of his Lordship. Many pamphlets were dispersed to fill up the time, to calm the fury of the people, and to blunt the edge of resentment; till a court-martial could be had. Sometimes they were apologetical; others were accusatory. Some extolled the abilities both of nature and fortune of Lord George Sackville, and depreciated every ability of Prince Ferdinand [h]. And the people were even

Means to calm the public clamour.

To cast blame upon Prince Ferdinand.

[g] The Marquis of Granby succeeded him in his command and in the lieutenant-generalship of the ordnance. General Waldgrave had his regiment.

[h] Lord George Sackville had, from his birth, rank and the places he occupied, reason to look upon himself, as one of the most rising young noblemen in these kingdoms; and as one who bid very fair to be, in time, at the head of the British army. These were motives, in a British bosom, to bear but with irksomeness the being under the command of a foreign officer, in whom, upon enquiry, he could find no superiority of talents to entitle him to such a pre-eminence.

Ferdinand, the son, grandson and brother of a petty sovereign in Germany, has the title of prince; for German princes there are without end: because if the father be a prince, all the sons are called princes, which accounts for the great number of them; and through that number for their conspicuous poverty.

A. D. 1759. even harangued to beware of falling into the unjuſtifiable reſentment, which the populace had vented

Prince Ferdinand being one of thoſe profeſſedly militant, and not over-wealthy princes, his firſt wiſh was, that he might find in the commander of the pay all, the monied people of England's forces, a docile, pliant fool, whom he might make to believe whatever he ſhould pleaſe, and mould him to all his views.

But it unluckily fell out, that in Lord George Sackville, the ſon of an Engliſh Prince, he found an Engliſhman, that ſcorns to pay ſervile court to foreign hirelings; a man that could not be impoſed upon in any article. From an early diſlike to the plan of Ferdinand's operations, the latter conceived a diſguſt for him; which was heightened by Lord George's proteſting againſt the raſh and imprudent attack made by Ferdinand at Bergen, where Broglio repulſed him, having made a terrible ſlaughter among the allies. That affair has never been fairly communicated to the public; though we frequently ſee very trifling incidents ſo minutely, and ſo pompouſly blazoned out.

The ſuperiority of genius, talents, education and knowledge with which Lord George is ſo uncommonly endowed, made the German leader ſhrink into a diffidence of himſelf, and to avoid as often as he could their being together.

Wherever Lord George could be omitted, upon any pretext, from aſſiſting at the military councils, he was:—the deſigns, if any, Ferdinand might poſſibly have conceived againſt the French, were moſtly kept a ſecret from him; or let out ſo ſparingly, that nothing very rational or concluſive could be deduced from them.

Ferdinand finding too ſevere a ſcrutiniſt (in Lord George) of all his actions, judged it high time to think of ridding himſelf of ſo untoward a coadjutor. The moſt efficacious method pitched on, within the ſecret council of his boſom, was, that in the firſt action he ſhould ſo manage in ſending orders to Lord George, as to puzzle him in the execution of his duty, and make him give into the trap he ſhould have laid

for

for him. The firſt that happened was on the famous firſt day of Auguſt, 1759. A. D. 1759.

That the army of the allies was ſurprized, is notorious. Kingſley's and Waldegrave's prudence, and the bravery of a few Britiſh troops, obtained a victory amazing in its circumſtances. However, in the midſt of the general confuſion, the political German was not unmindful of his premeditated ſcheme to perplex Lord George: for which end, two expreſſes were ſent almoſt at the ſame inſtant; the one for him to march down with the cavalry under his command, to which obedience was paid with all due diſpatch: the ſecond command (the intended puzzler) was to bring the Britiſh cavalry only.

An order ſo ungeneral-like, and ſo unaccountable, cauſed Lord George to ſtop, (he might have room to ſuſpect the other's intention of playing him a foul trick) in order to get as explicit an explanation as poſſible from the gentlemen who brought the orders. Each being certain of that which he had delivered, induced his Lordſhip to go to the Prince, (who it is to be ſuppoſed was not ſlunk out of the way of danger) to have the matter ſet right; Ferdinand was quite hurt at ſight of him; ſeeing the plan to ruin Sackville, with his country, had in part miſcarried.

Had Lord George precipitately ruſhed on with the Britiſh cavalry only, and a ſlaughter of them enſued, which might have been very probably the caſe—what would have been Ferdinand's triumphant outcry then? Why this,—"How in the "name of wonder, my Lord, could you break the line of "cavalry, and come down with the Britiſh only?" How ſhall we anſwer to his Britannic Majeſty, for the loſs of ſo many brave men, and this partial havock made only among his Britiſh ſubjects.

Lord George's plain anſwer to ſuch a charge would have been—"I have acted agreeable to the laſt order I received "from you."—"The laſt order from me! let then the two "aids de camp be called"—would reply Ferdinand. It was ſo contrived, or ſo fell out, that the aids de camp could not ſettle among themſelves who came firſt or laſt from the Prince.

Each

A. D. 1758. vented to the prejudice of Admiral Byng [i]. But this method of defence was ſo far from ſetting him

Each aid de camp abiding by the differing order which he had delivered—Ferdinand would not fail to exclaim, "Good "God, conſidering the ſurprize we were all thrown into, "your own judgment ſhould have directed you, and told "you it was impoſſible I could give any ſuch abſurd order;"—and indeed, to this hour, no ſhadow of reaſon can be given for it; nor why, when the whole cavalry was come down time enough to annoy and harraſs the retreating enemy, inſtead of orders for purſuing, they were bid to diſmount.

At the interview with the Prince, after the victory obtained, Ferdinand neither expreſſed nor marked any ſigns of diſſatisfaction or reſentment to Lord George, but rather ſeemingly the reverſe. He took ſome time to brood over a ſcheme, then newly thought on, for Lord George's ruin; and which ſhould be derived from the effect, that had been cauſed by his own differing orders: which was ſoon after iſſued in an unprecedented military manner among real heroes.

See the Refutation of the Letter to an honourable Brigadier General. 1759.

[i] I deſcend to the producing of one of our own age and nation; and aſk of the violent, now their fury has ſubſided, when future ages, in this land, ſhall read the ſentence that was paſt on Admiral Byng by his judges, and their letter that accompanied it to the Lords of the Admiralty, if they think their wonder muſt not prove great at the execution that followed? Even as great as that which has already been expreſſed at it by the diſpaſſionately judging people of every other country in Europe?

Nor can I here forbear to remark on a current conſolitary obſervation, in extenuation of that ſeverity, now when party heat has ſubſided, and particulars begin to feel ſome compunction for their ill-exerted fury; which is, *that it has been the producer of good effects in the navy:* and this is talked of with ſatisfaction, even by lawyers and clergymen. But can any

him right with the public, that it rather confirmed their ſuſpicion of guilt: eſpecially as it was conceived, That his Lordſhip was one of the chief ſticklers againſt Mr. Byng, whoſe defence was the very ſame, that he *had done his duty to the utmoſt of his abilities.* A. D. 1759. Did not anſwer the purpoſe. His trial.

We don't pretend to fix the blame. It is the part of an hiſtorian to relate facts, as they are ſtated. Theſe are the accuſations, theſe the excuſes, theſe the invectives, theſe the reſentments of both parties. One thing only can be aſcertained, that it will be ſeen, the common cauſe ſuffered greatly, by not doing all that was in the power of the allied army to do, on the 1ſt day of Auguſt. Whether that omiſſion proceeded originally from Prince Ferdinand's neglect of Lord George Sackville, or from his Lordſhip's contempt of the Prince's orders, is before the public, Remarks.

any of them ſay it is conformable to the doctrine of the goſpel or our ſtatutes, that evil ſhould be done in order for good to come of it? Or will politicians pretend to tell us, that where diſcipline becomes weakened, it is not from corruptions in government? Which has always a power to prevent it by mild juſtice, or by mild juſtice to reſtore it. Or would any of thoſe men, who are ſo ready to be the devoters of the lives of others with infamy, be willing their own ſhould be ſo devoted for public welfare? A great author has obſerved, that nothing is ſo eaſy to bear as other men's misfortunes; and we ſee, in the matter now treated of, that there are thoſe who can comfort themſelves in the ſufferings too of others, even to death by great rigour, provided they can themſelves participate in any benefits derived from them.

See the Sentiments of an Engliſhman, on Lord George Sackville's Addreſs to the Public, &c.

to

A. D. 1759. to judge from what has been publiſhed; and from the evidence on his trial, and the ſentence of the court-martial[k]; which met on the 29th of February 1760, for that purpoſe.

His trial.

The charge. The charge exhibited againſt him was a diſobedience of the orders of Prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, at the battle of Minden, which he was obliged to obey, by his Majeſty's commiſſion, to be commander in chief of the Britiſh forces on the Lower Rhine, enjoining and requiring him to obey ſuch orders and directions as ſhould be given him by Prince Ferdinand; and by inſtructions under his ſign-manual, bearing date the 31ſt of October 1758. to direct him *conſtantly to put in execution ſuch orders*, as he might receive from the ſaid Prince Ferdinand, or ſuch other perſon, as might thereafter be commander in chief of his Majeſty's army on the Lower Rhine, according to the rules of war, with regard to marching, counter-marching, attacking the enemy, and all operations whatever, to be undertaken by his Majeſty's ſaid troops.

[k] The members appointed by his Majeſty's firſt warrant, were as follows: Lieutenant General Sir Charles Howard, preſident; Lieutenant Generals John Huſke; John Cambell; John, Lord Delawarr; James Cholmondeley; James Stuart; William, Earl of Panmure; William Kerr, Earl of Ancram; William, Earl of Harrington; James Abercromby; George, Earl of Albemarle; Francis Leighton; Lord Robert Manners. Major Generals, Edward Carr; Thomas, Earl of Effingham; Lord Robert Bertie; Julius Cæſar;—Charles Gould, deputy judge advocate general: but General Huſke could not attend.

To

To ſupport the charge, ſeveral witneſſes were ſworn, and depoſed, firſt,[1] "That on the 29th of July, after the army was arrived at Hille, the order was given, for the regiments to make immediate neceſſary appertures and communications, that they might be able to march in front without any impediment: and particularly for the generals to take good notice of the nine debouchês, by which the army might advance to form in the plains of Minden, ſo as to be well acquainted with them, ſhould the army be ordered to advance in the front.—That in the evening of the 31ſt, about ſix o'clock, he received and ſent up to the line another order from his Serene Highneſs, for the army to be ready to march at one o'clock on the morrow-morning; the cavalry to be ſaddled; the artillery-horſes harnaſſed, and the infantry gaitered; but not to ſtrike the tents, nor the troops put under arms, till further orders: and particularly that he not only ſhewed this order to Lord George Sackville, but alſo that he ſhewed his Lordſhip another part of this order, relative to him, as commander in chief of the Britiſh troops, purporting, "That his Serene Highneſs deſired the generals leading columns, according to the diſpoſition given that day, would make themſelves acquainted with the avenues leading (or march of the columns) from the camp, as well as the ground in front: the camp at Hille being three or four miles from Hallen."

A. D. 1759. Witneſſes examined.

[1] Lieutenant Colonel Charles Hotham, adjutant general to the Britiſh forces in Germany.

A. D. 1759. Then the acting major of the brigade [m] depoſed, "That Prince Ferdinand ſent orders to his tent a little before four in the morning of the 1ſt of Auguſt, for the cavalry to ſtrike their tents and immediately to form at the head of the lines, which was done accordingly by the firſt and ſecond lines. "That going to Lord George Sackville between five and ſix, he found his Lordſhip in his quarters, between the ſtables and the houſe. "That his Lordſhip ſaid he had but juſt heard from General Sporcken, that the lines were formed; and "That his Lordſhip mounted, followed him up to the line, put himſelf at the head of the cavalry, gave orders immediately; and "That they began their march; the infantry being juſt forming their march."

Captain Wintzingerode, Heſſian aid de camp to Prince Ferdinand, depoſed "That at the time the infantry of the right wing was a ſecond time advancing towards the enemy, after having made ſome halt, by order of his Serene Highneſs, to give time for the infantry adjoining, and the ſecond line to come up and form, he was ſent with his Serene Highneſs's order to Lord George Sackville to advance with the cavalry of the right wing to ſuſtain the infantry, that was going to be engaged:" that the Duke of Richmond was poſted after him, to tell him again from his Serene Highneſs, to haſten the arrival of the Britiſh cavalry, and to tell Lord George Sackville to form with

[m] Captain Henry Stubbs.

the

the cavalry of the right wing under his command, upon the heath, in a third line behind the infantry: "that he found Lord George poſted at the head of the firſt line of cavalry, ſome diſtance behind the artillery, near the wind-mill of the village of Halen, with ſome trees on the left, that intercepted his ſight of the infantry, and where he had firſt formed: "That he communicated to his Lordſhip the orders above-mentioned, and as they had been given to him by the Prince: "That Lord George ſeemed not to underſtand him, and aſked him, how that was to be done? and though this deponent endeavoured to explain the orders to him, ſo as to make him underſtand, that he was to paſs with the cavalry between the trees, which he ſaw on his left, which would lead him to the heath, in which he was to form with the cavalry, and to advance in order to ſuſtain the infantry, which he thought was already engaged with the enemy, Lord George ſtill continued to aſk him how that was to be done?" A. D. 1759.

As this deponent was ſo nearly connected in his military ſtation with Prince Ferdinand; and naturally foreſeeing that ſome uſe might be made of that connection to invalidate, or at leaſt to render his evidence ſuſpected of partiality for his patron, Captain Wintzingerode, in the courſe of his depoſition, took an opportunity to authenticate and ſtrengthen his evidence, by appealing to the converſation he had with Colonel Fitzroy, explaining ſome particulars in his evidence,

A. D. 1759. which were put to him by the priſoner and the court [o].

Lieute-

[o] Lord George Sackville aſked him again ſeveral queſtions, how that was to be done: the witneſs repeated to him, what he has been ſaying.——Lord George Sackville then turned towards the officers attending him, and the witneſs firmly perſuaded, that he was going to give the orders for advancing, went to rejoin his Serene Highneſs.——On coming upon the heath behind our infantry, which was then fully engaged with the enemy, he ſaw Lieutenant Colonel Fitzroy coming towards him full gallop, who aſked him, why the cavalry of the right wing did not advance, and gave him to underſtand, as he paſſed him, that his Serene Highneſs was under the greateſt impatience about it. The witneſs followed him to tell him, that he had been with the order for that purpoſe from his Serene Highneſs to Lord George, and that the cavalry was coming.—(The witneſs, upon his depoſition being afterwards read over to him, deſired it might be inſerted, that he recollects his mentioning alſo to Lieutenant Colonel Fitzroy as he paſſed, that Lord George Sackville ſeemed for ſome time not to underſtand him.)——But Lieutenant Colonel Fitzroy, without waiting for the anſwer, went his way towards Lord George; and the witneſs, ſeeing that the cavalry of the right wing, from whence he was coming, made as yet no movement on that ſide of the trees, where they were to form, upon the heath, followed Lieutenant Colonel Fitzroy to aſſiſt him in haſtening the cavalry to advance, he going towards Lord George Sackville, and the witneſs towards Lord Granby, whom he found at the head of the ſecond line of the cavalry, in the ſame poſition, as he found him, when he paſſed by his Lordſhip firſt. He had nothing farther to ſay concerning Lord George Sackville, or of the orders which he carried him from his Serene Highneſs. After this account many queſtions were put to him, to which he anſwered in ſubſtance: that he thought, he endeavoured to make Lord George underſtand in Engliſh, that he was to paſs between the trees on

his

Lieutenant Colonel Edward Ligonier, aid de camp to Prince Ferdinand, depoſed,——That he brought Lord George Sackville's orders from Prince Ferdinand, on the 1ſt of Auguſt laſt, to advance with the cavalry in order to profit from the diſorder, which appeared in the enemy's cavalry; he found his Lordſhip at the head of Bland's dragoons; he delivered him his orders, to which his Lordſhip made no anſwer, but, turn- A D. 1759.

his left, to form upon the heath on the other ſide:—that he had never ſerved in the cavalry:——that the trees, through which the cavalry was to paſs, was an open wood, without any buſhes, as he remembered. That when he delivered his orders, Lord George was accompanied by ſeveral aid de camps and other officers, among whom, he thought, he ſaw Colonel Hotham, Captain Hugo; and he thought, Lieutenant Colonel Sloper was there.—That he did not obſerve any of the enemy's batteries upon the right, where the cavalry was to paſs.—That when he came to Lord Granby the ſecond time, he told him to march directly with the ſecond line, as he knew, that the Duke waited with impatience the coming up of the cavalry; and Lord Granby followed him immediately with the ſecond line, which he led through the trees to the heath, where it was to form, in order to advance. As to the firſt line, he cannot ſpeak of his own knowledge, being employed in leading the ſecond. Lord Granby preparing to follow him with the ſecond line, deſired him to acquaint Lord George Sackville; with which he commiſſioned an officer belonging to Lord George Sackville, who came up at that time, and who, if he is not miſtaken, was Lieutenant Colonel Hotham.—That he could not juſtly recollect the diſtance of time between his firſt delivering the orders to Lord George, and his return to the Prince, but believed, it might be about three quarters of an hour:—and that the infantry were ſtill engaged with the enemy when he returned.

A. D. 1759. ing about to the troops, ordered ſwords to be drawn, and to march; which they did, moving a few paces from the right forward. He then told his Lordſhip, it was to the left he was to march.

At this time Lieutenant Colonel Fitzroy arrived, and delivered his orders for the Britiſh cavalry only to advance. Lord George Sackville turning to the deponent ſaid, their orders were contradictory; the deponent anſwered, they differed only in numbers, that the deſtination of his march was the ſame,---" to the left."---His Lordſhip then aſked him, if he would lead the column; he ſaid, he could not undertake to conduct them properly, but that if his Lordſhip would truſt it to him, he would do his beſt.

Several queſtions were then put to him, in regard to the importance of the orders: the time that elapſed: the diſtance of the cavalry from the infantry, and ſome other more minute particulars: to which this lieutenant colonel anſwered diſtinctly and candidly [P].

The

[P] To the many queſtions put to him he anſwered in ſubſtance:—That he was ſent from the Prince on account of many reports made to his Serene Highneſs, of the enemy's being in confuſion, but could not ſpeak as to the Duke of Richmond's particularly.—That he and Lieutenant Colonel Fitzroy did not leave the Prince at the ſame time; for he believed he left Colonel Fitzroy with his Serene Highneſs.—That he did peremptorily inſiſt upon his being in the right in his orders, even after Colonel Fitzroy arrived, but he did not then inſiſt that they were the orders to be obeyed:—That when he left the Prince, the Britiſh infantry were formed into lines, and advancing briſkly:—That Lord George did not make

The honourable Lieutenant Colonel Charles Fitzroy, aid de camp to Prince Ferdinand, depoſed,--- That he brought an order for the Britiſh cavalry to advance towards the left: When he came up to his Lordſhip, he was on the right of Bland's regiment; he told him, it was the Prince's order for the Britiſh cavalry to advance towards the left: his Lordſhip deſired him not to be in a hurry, and to give his orders more diſtinctly; or ſomething to that effect.——The deponent again repeated, it was the Prince's order for the Britiſh cavalry to advance towards the left: he thinks Lord George obſerved, that Lieutenant Colonel Ligonier's order was different.——His Lordſhip ſaid, he thought the Prince did not mean to break the line: he thinks his Lordſhip aſked, which way the cavalry was to march? who was to be their guide?—The deponent told his Lordſhip, he did not know of any guide being appointed, but offered to lead the column himſelf through a little wood, which was on their left, A. D. 1759.

make the leaſt heſitation about obeying his orders till Colonel Fitzroy arrived:—That between his carrying his orders to Lord George and the enemy's retiring, was about three quarters of an hour, but could ſpeak with no certainty:——That the cavalry were, he believed, a full mile diſtant from the ſecond line of infantry; the ground a very fine plain, after getting through an open grove upon the left of the cavalry.—And that he thought, if Lord George had immediately obeyed the orders brought either by him, or thoſe brought by Lieutenant Colonel Fitzroy, that the cavalry could have come up time enough to have ſupported the infantry, or to have engaged the enemy.

A. D. 1759. where, he imagined, they might paſs, two ſquadrons in front. Lord George then did not ſeem to be ſatisfied with the order, ſaying it did not agree with that, which Lieutenant Colonel Ligonier had brought him: he deſired the deponent to lead him to the Prince, to have an explanation of thoſe orders; which he did. Lord George came to the Prince ſoon after he came up to him. And, farther, That ſome time after his carrying this order to Lord George, the Prince being at that time with Captain Philips's battery, and advancing that battery upon the right of the infantry, and, he believes, with a deſign of ſilencing a battery of the enemy's, which flanked the infantry, his Serene Highneſs ſaid he thought it was even then not too late for the cavalry to advance. The deponent aſked the Prince whether he would have him go and fetch the cavalry: his anſwer was, Yes; and deliver the order to Lord Granby. The deponent found Lord Granby on the enemy's ſide (the Minden ſide) of the little wood: he was alone, advanced forty yards, upon the left of the Britiſh cavalry:—he thinks, at that time, the left of the Britiſh cavalry was more forward than the right. He delivered the Prince's order to Lord Granby, who aſked him why he did not give it to Lord George Sackville: he told him, the Prince had ſent the deponent to him. Lord Granby kept trotting up; and made him obſerve, that the right was not come up ſo forward as the left.---And, upon the queſtions put to him, he anſwered, in ſubſtance,---That, juſt before he

was

was diſpatched to Lord George, the Duke of Richmond having reported, that there was a confuſion among the enemy's cavalry in the center of their line, the Prince advanced to reconnoitre them himſelf. He ſaid, "Voici le bon moment pour la cavalerie." Upon which the deponent aſked his Serene Highneſs's leave to go and bring up the Britiſh cavalry: his anſwer was, "Courez y."---That juſt before the Duke of Richmond made this report, he ſaw Captain Ligonier with the Prince.---That in carrying the orders to Lord George he ſaw Captain Wintzingerode, who gave him directions where to find the cavalry, and told him that he had carried an order from the Prince to Lord George, who would not at firſt underſtand it.---That he had no diſpute with Colonel Ligonier about their orders; for, when he delivered his orders to Lord George, they were between the two lines of cavalry, and Colonel Ligonier was then in the front of the firſt line: ſo that it was only from Lord George that he heard of their orders being different; and thereupon he inſiſted that his orders were exact, which the Prince acknowledged when he made the report, and expreſſed his ſurprize ſtrongly, not by words, but by action, upon his mentioning that Lord George did not underſtand the different orders he had received, but was coming to have them explained: that upon the Prince's ſending him a ſecond time for the cavalry, he aſked his Serene Highneſs to whom he would have him addreſs himſelf; and his anſwer was, "To Lord Granby, A. D. 1759.

A. D. 1759. as I know he will obey me."—That the Britiſh infantry was attacked by the enemy's cavalry, and afterwards by their infantry, without receiving any aſſiſtance from the Britiſh cavalry.—That from his firſt delivering the orders to Lord George, to the time of Captain Smith's being ſent back, was, he believed, a quarter of an hour; and that he imagined the captain had 100 or 150 yards to go back to the neareſt part of the cavalry.---That the wood, which the cavalry was to paſs through, was, in the narroweſt part, he believed, 50 or 60 yards wide; and that, if Lord George had immediately obeyed the order he carried, the Britiſh cavalry, he thought, might have come up time enough, either to purſue the enemy's cavalry as they were going off, or to attack the foot.

Lieutenant-Colonel Sloper, of Bland's regiment of dragoons, depoſed, That on the 1ſt of Auguſt, about four in the morning, Capt. Pentz called upon him at his tent, and told him, that it was Duke Ferdinand's orders, that the regiment ſhould ſtrike their tents, and mount as ſoon as poſſible, adding, that it was for action. The deponent immediately went round the regiment himſelf, and ordered his Serene Highneſs's orders to be put in execution as ſoon as poſſible. The horſes were then ſaddled, the men booted, and lying down in their tents: this had been done at one o'clock in the morning, agreeable to the orders received the evening before. When the regiment had been mounted much about half an hour, Lord George Sackville came to the head of it, and ordered it

to march. They marched to the ground the cavalry formed upon. On that ſpot, he heard Captain Malhorty, aid de camp to the Duke, give Lord George Sackville orders to form the line. Juſt after the line was formed, Captain Wintzingrode, aid de camp to his Serene Highneſs, came up to Lord George Sackville, and told him in French, that it was the Duke's orders, he ſhould advance to the left with the right wing of cavalry, and form it in a line behind the infantry.—He repeated thoſe orders in the ſame language.—He then ſaid in Engliſh, that his lordſhip was to form the cavalry in a line behind the infantry.—Lord George Sackville ſaid, "Mais comment? mais comment?" Captain Wintzingerode ſaid, moving his hand, "You muſt paſs through thoſe trees; you will then arrive upon the heath,—you will then ſee our infantry and the enemy."—The deponent heard his lordſhip ſay, "I do not comprehend how the movement is to be made."---Being ſo near to his lordſhip, the deponent anſwered, "It ſeemed very clear to him, it was to be made by the left of the right wing of cavalry." His lordſhip ſaid he would make it. For a quarter of an hour after that, he did not ſee his lordſhip.---His lordſhip then returning to the ſquadron, which he was at the head of, ſaid, "Sir,---colonel, put your regiment in motion." The deponent ſaid, "My lord, to the left?" His lordſhip anſwered, "No, ſtraight forward." The regiment moved a very few paces. Captain Ligonier arrived: he ſaid to Lord George Sackville, that it was the

A. D. 1759.

A. D. 1759. duke's orders, that he immediately advanced with the cavalry under his command, and that the movement was to the left. The deponent then ſaid to Captain Ligonier, "For God's ſake, Sir, repeat your orders to that man (meaning Lord George Sackville) that he may not pretend not to underſtand them; for it is near half an hour ago, that he has received orders to advance, and yet we are ſtill here;" adding, "but you ſee the condition he is in." Turning from Captain Ligonier towards Lord George Sackville, he ſaw Lieutenant-Colonel Fitzroy with him: his orders he did not hear. But Lord George ſaid to Captain Ligonier, "Captain Ligonier, your orders are contradictory." He anſwered, "In numbers, my lord; but their deſtination is the ſame." Lieutenant-Colonel Fitzroy and Lord George Sackville, quitted the front of the ſquadron, the deponent was at the head of.---In about 20 minutes after that the cavalry moved to the left.

The deponent was then aſked ſeveral queſtions both in regard to the orders, to the priſoner's conduct, and to the condition of the cavalry, &c. to which the Lieutenant-Colonel anſwered in a clear and diſtinct manner [q].

Lieutenant-

[q] That in his opinion Lord George was alarmed to a very great degree.—When his lordſhip ordered him to advance, he ſeemed in the utmoſt confuſion.—The original orders were to the left; Captain Ligonier's orders were to the left; the cavalry afterwards did move to the left,—and the orders his lordſhip had given him were to "move the regiment ſtraight forward."

Lieutenant-Colonel William Auguſtus Pitt, of Mordaunt's dragoons, depoſed, That, after the cavalry of the right wing were formed in two lines, they remained three quarters of an hour, A. D. 1759.

forward."—The deponent, being aſked, further informed the court, that when they moved, the cavalry moved through the grove, the trees mentioned by Captain Wintzingerode:—That the left of the right wing of cavalry ſtood cloſe to the grove; but from the right ſquadron of Bland's to the heath on the other ſide of the grove he judged it to be a mile, the ground to the grove being corn-fields, and the grove ſo open that a ſquadron or more might go through in front, at any pace a general would chuſe:—That between Captain Ligonier's arrival and Lord George's going with Colonel Fitzroy he judged to be a quarter of an hour:—That Captain Wintzingerode's and Ligonier's orders were a quarter of an hour apart; that Ligonier was a quarter of an hour with Lord George, and that the cavalry did not move till 20 minutes after Lord George left the right wing with Colonel Fitzroy:—That from the great ſpace of time there was between Captain Wintzingerode's orders and the movement of the cavalry, from the very ſlow movements of the cavalry after they were in motion, and from the ground he ſaw they had to go over to arrive in the rear of the infantry, he is certain they muſt have been in time to have ſupported the infantry, or to have engaged the enemy, had Lord George cauſed the firſt orders to be immediately put in execution, or the orders brought either by Ligonier or Fitzroy, if the cavalry had moved as quick as cavalry may do when the occaſion for it preſſes (by which he meant a trot); and even, had the front gone faſt enough to have obliged the regiment, which he commanded, to have galloped, he thinks it would have been fit for buſineſs, and have beat any three French ſquadrons it could have met with:—That the ſecond line was moved through the wood, and formed before the firſt; and that, when they both formed into one line, they moved at a ſlower rate than the ſecond line had before done.

more

A. D. 1759. more or leſs, before they marched, without any impediment, he knew of, to their marching ſooner, had they had orders: --- that, when they did march, their movement was to the left, by ſquadrons:---that about 200 yards upon their left they had a wood, or open grove to paſs: he ſpeaks of the whole ſecond line of cavalry. The wood, he believed, might be a quarter of a mile wide, in the part they marched through. They marched through in ſquadrons: on the other ſide of the wood, they came into large open corn fields, which might laſt 200 yards, at moſt, he believed, and then came out upon the heath. About a quarter of a mile after they paſſed the wood, they had orders to halt and draw up, and remained in that poſition about ten minutes; and then they had an order from Lord Granby, for his brigade to follow him; upon which they wheeled to the left by ſquadrons, and trotted on about 300 yards. ---At this time the deponent received an order from an aid de camp of Lord George Sackville's, (he believed it was Captain Lloyd, but he was not ſure) to halt, as the left went ſo faſt, the right could not keep up with them.---He told the aid de camp, he had received the orders from Lord Granby, and, if they were to halt, he muſt go to the front to him. The aid de camp proceeded on the front; in conſequence of which they were halted. They remained, he believed, about a quarter of an hour halted; during which time the line was formed.---The right he could not quite ſee, but believed, except the regiment to the right, which

which was hindered by a wood, the whole was formed in a line. After that the cavalry proceeded very ſlow over the field of battle, which the infantry had been engaged on; he believed above a quarter of a mile, near half a mile. They then wheeled to the right by ſquadrons, and took the laſt poſition, which the cavalry had that day, with their right to the moraſs.---From the place where they wheeled, to the place where they took that poſition, he believed, may be about three quarters of a mile.---That their movements were extremely ſlow the whole day, and might certainly have been much quicker, and yet in a proper condition for ſervice; but that Lord George at all times marched very ſlow:---And that he had never ſeen Lord George any where but at the head of Bland's regiment, which was the place where they underſtood they were to ſend to him, when there was any order. A. D. 1759.

The Marquis of Granby depoſed,---That when Captain Wintzingerode came to him the ſecond time, he ſaid, "For God's ſake, how came the cavalry not to have marched;" for that he had carried the orders to Lord George Sackville to march with all the cavalry of the right wing to the left, in order to form one line to ſupport the foot; and added, "I find they have not yet moved;" or, "find them in the ſame place,"---words to that effect. His lordſhip anſwered, that in conſequence of the information, he had received from him, when he told his lordſhip he was going to Lord George Sackville with thoſe orders,

A. D. 1759. orders, he had (as he had then told him, he would do) put the ſecond line of the cavalry in motion; but that he had received no orders from Lord George Sackville:---That General Elliot had been ſent for by Lord George, and came back and informed him, (Lord Granby) that Lord George Sackville would immediately, or ſoon, (he cannot be ſure which) ſend him orders; and in the mean time, that he ſhould remain there: and that General Elliot went in conſequence, and halted the ſecond line.---But that immediately, upon Wintzingerode's ſaying, that it was abſolutely neceſſary, that the cavalry ſhould march to form a line to ſupport the foot, his lordſhip marched to the left through the wood, and deſired Captain Wintzingerode to inform Lord George Sackville, that he had marched in conſequence of his (Wintzingerode's) information. That Lieutenant-Colonel Fitzroy came up to him, juſt as the cavalry of the ſecond line, of which he was at the head, had got to the place, where the action had firſt begun, with orders for the cavalry to advance up, as faſt as poſſible, which he did not underſtand to be confined to the ſecond line. His lordſhip told him, that Lord George Sackville was there, and that they were marching to the left by his order, and deſired, that he would go up to him, and give him the order: he anſwered his lordſhip, that he had carried orders to Lord George Sackville, which his lordſhip did not obey, and that his orders now were, to bring theſe orders to him.---That as the ſecond line were marching up near the

firr-

firr-tree grove, whereabouts his lordſhip was informed the action had begun, there came an order to halt, till the firſt line joined them. Lord George Sackville ſoon after came up to the ſecond brigade, where the deponent was. He immediately rode up to Lord George Sackville and acquainted him with his reaſons for having marched, without having received any particular order from him; and that he was marching on, when he received his orders to halt with the firſt line. Lord George ſaid, he only did it in order to bring up the firſt line, to form the line of the whole. Preſently after, the firſt line came up to them, and they marched on again. When they came up to the firr-tree grove, there was an order to march to the left, in order to make room for two regiments, which were in the firſt line, which, it was ſaid, had not room to come up and form with the reſt of the line.---After Lieutenant-Colonel Fitzroy had delivered him (Lord Granby) his orders, his lordſhip went up to Lord George Sackville, and acquainted him, that the duke's orders were to march up directly; Lord George Sackville ſaid, he was only forming the troops into a line. The deponent ſaid, as the orders were to advance, he would give orders for the ſecond line to march on: which he immediately did, by ordering General Elliot to follow him with his brigade, and himſelf galloped up about 50 or 60 yards in their front.--- After they had gone about three or 400 yards, (he can't ſpeak preciſely) he found the cavalry halted; he ſent immediately the Major of brigade (Callis)

A. D. 1759.

A. D. 1759. (Callis) with orders for them to advance, as faſt as poſſible, and to know, how they came to halt without his orders: who came up and informed him, that they were halted from the right by Lord George Sackville's orders: the deponent gave them immediately orders to advance and not halt, unleſs by his own orders, or by General Elliot, in conſequence of orders from him.---That from the time the cavalry were drawn up in two lines, to the time of his giving orders to the ſecond line to march, there was, he ſuppoſed, about 20 or 25 minutes; that in marching from thence to the place, where the action appeared to have firſt begun, took up about 25 minutes, or half an hour; but it might have been done ſooner; and that from their encampment in the morning, to the place, where they were drawn up in two lines, they might have marched faſter, had it been thought neceſſary.---That they would have had time to have formed a third line behind the ſecond line of the infantry, and to have covered them, if when Captain Wintzingerode came firſt up, the infantry was then drawn up at the firr-grove, which was diſtant only about a mile, or three quarters from their right:---That he did not know the poſition of the infantry, when the cavalry was firſt formed; as neither he, nor any other general to his knowledge, had any diſpoſition communicated to them, or any general inſtructions relating to that day:---And that when Colonel Fitzroy came to him, he believed, he was vexed, and might have found fault with Lord George's

George's manœuvres, thinking time was loſt thereby. A. D. 1759.

Lord George Sackville in his defence diſcovered great abilities. He began with a ſhort ſpeech to the court, in which he ſtated the ſeveral articles of the charge againſt him; made ſome remarks on the evidence brought in ſupport of that charge; gave a ſhort account of the ſort of evidence he intended for his defence, and concluded thus: "This defence is intended not for the world, but for the information of the court. All I at preſent deſire, is, that mankind would ſuſpend their judgments of my conduct, till the evidence is cloſed; then I truſt in the goodneſs of my cauſe, which has ſupported me under a load of calumny, and emboldened me to aſk for this trial, that, under your favourable judgment, the candid will, with pleaſure, acquit me, the prejudiced be obliged to retract their paſt cenſures, and I ſhall once more be reſtored to the good opinion of my country, and of my ſovereign." Lord George's defence.

His lordſhip then called his witneſſes. The firſt was Colonel Hotham, who depoſed, that having received orders, about ſix in the evening of the 31ſt, for ſaddling the horſes, which had been frequently ſent for a fortnight before the action, he ſent them immediately to the line, and reported to Lord George what he had done; That the Britiſh troops were ordered in the morning of the 31ſt of Auguſt, to hold themſelves in readineſs to march, [it was thought to the right] the cavalry to ſaddle immediately, and the infantry His witneſſes called.

to

A. D. 1759. to dreſs, but not to ſtrike their tents till further orders: That about ſix he received orders from Major Stubs for the army to get under arms and march immediately: That he repaired immediately to the line, and there found Lord George at the head of the line of cavalry. He further ſaid, That Lord George's firſt orders were to form into ſquadrons, and then he was ordered to form into a line: and that he did not obſerve any thing in Lord George's looks, manner, or behaviour, during the whole day, different from what it was at any other time.

Lieutenant Robert Biſſet, aſſiſtant quarter-maſter-general was called, to ſhew the impracticability of Lord George's marching to the left: who depoſed, That Captain Roy and himſelf riding to the left of the line of cavalry, and proceeding to the front by the windmill, were told by one of the gunners of the battery, attached to the piquets, that they could not proceed that way; becauſe the enemy was ſo near. That they both returned to the left, paſſed a little wood that divided the corn fields from the heath, and continued till they had paſſed the firr-wood, which opened a view of the enemy. That they returned immediately: and in the way ſaw the infantry debouching into the plain of Minden: and found, at their return, the cavalry in the ſame ſituation this deponent had left them, about 12 or 1400 yards, or ſomewhat more than an Engliſh mile from the enemy.

Captain

Captain James Sutherland, quarter-maſter to the Engliſh camp, depoſed, That purſuant to the orders in the evening of the 31ſt of July, Lord George ſent Colonel Watſon and Captain Smith to reconnoitre the ground between the camp and Minden heath. That the German guide appointed to conduct Lord George on the 1ſt of Auguſt, as his lordſhip marched from the camp in ſquadrons, refuſed to guide him further than the windmill near Halen. And that the cavalry formed in a line, a very little way from that windmill. A. D. 1759.

Captain Smith, aid de camp to Lord George, depoſed, That Lord George himſelf reconnoitred the debouchers from the camp to the plain of Minden, a great way beyond the village of Halen: and that his lordſhip afterwards ſent Colonel Watſon and this deponent to take a further view of the country. He mentioned ſeveral particulars relating to the motions of the cavalry, while formed in ſquadrons, which ſeem foreign to the charge, and then informed the court, that Captain Malhorty brought the order to form the line, and on what ground to halt and to wait for further orders.

Captain David Williams, of the Britiſh artillery, depoſed, That the artillery were at a loſs for orders, and were marching from the ground without any orders: That he, by order of Captain Philips, repaired to Lord George, to know if he had any extraordinary orders for them: That Lord George ſeemed ſurprized at their not having received orders, and told him, this deponent, that

A. D. 1759. something would be found for them to do in the front: That the artillery paſſed as faſt as poſſible through the intervals of both lines of the cavalry, and then through the wood with difficulty, though marching only with one carriage a-breaſt; and that the cavalry could not march above three or four a-breaſt, by the ſame way; concluding that the enemy retreated at about 20 minutes after eight in the morning [r].

Colonel Hotham was called again, to inform the court about the order delivered by Captain Wintzingerode; and he depoſed further, That he underſtood it to be for the cavalry to form in one line, as a third line, to ſuſtain the infantry, and to advance: That the cavalry could not be formed in one on the ground where they were, but that they had been formed in two lines about half an hour before Captain Wintzingerode brought the orders; and that he did not hear the ſaid captain explain his order, or ſpeak to Captain Hugo in German, or to Lord George in Engliſh; neither did he ſee Colonel Sloper there at that time, or hear any words paſs between him and Lord George: though he acknowledged that the colonel might have been there, without his obſerving or hearing of him.

Captain Hugo confirmed the evidence of Colonel Hotham in regard to Captain Wintzingerode and Colonel Sloper; and further depoſed, That he himſelf was diſpatched by Lord George, with

[r] Many of the facts in this depoſition were confirmed by the evidence of Captain Forbes Macbean.

orders

orders for the Saxe-Gotha regiment, about 200 yards diſtant, to clear the front, that the cavalry might advance; and that the ſecond line of the cavalry was in motion at his return [s]. A. D. 1759.

Captain

[s] Moſt of theſe facts were confirmed by Captains Biſſet, Lloyd and Broome: and Captain Lloyd added, that upon Captain Wintzingerode's going away, Lord George ordered him to go and reconnoitre the ſituation of the infantry, and report to him: that accordingly he ſet out, but by the time he had got 300 yards, he met Captain Ligonier coming full ſpeed, and concluding that he brought ſome freſh orders, he returned to Lord George, who was then ſomewhere to the right of the Inniſkilling regiment. And Captain Broome added, that upon Captain Wintzingerode's delivering his order, Lord George ordered him to go to the front, and bring him an account of what was doing there:—That accordingly he advanced about 300 yards in the front of Bland's: when I came there, ſays he, I could diſcover nothing of the enemy in the front: I then went about 200 yards to the left; and from thence I diſcovered a great number of the enemy farther to the left, at near a mile diſtance; but the cannonading on both ſides was ſo great, with a large quantity of ſmoke occaſioned by it, that it prevented me ſeeing any infantry of the enemy, that might have been nearer; for thoſe of the enemy, I ſaw, I took to be cavalry.

I then returned to the ground where I left our own cavalry, to make my report; and found that the whole right wing had marched to the left, ſo as to have its right flank on the other ſide of the wood. I went directly thither, and made my report of what I had ſeen.—From whence he concluded, that from Captain Wintzingerode's going, to his return from reconnoitring, was a very great while, 20 or 25 minutes.

Colonel Hotham reckoned the time from Captain Wintzingerode's going, to Captain Ligonier's coming, to be from five to ten minutes. Captain Hugo ſaid, that Captain Ligonier arrived ſoon after his return, from carrying orders to re-

A. D. 1759. Captain Smith was then called to confront the evidence of Colonel Sloper and the Lieutenant-Colonels Ligonier and Fitzroy, and depoſed as follows: I was ſtanding at the right ſquadron of Bland's, when I ſaw Mr. Ligonier come: I ſuppoſed he had delivered an order to Lord George; I could not hear it. My Lord George turned about, drew his ſword, and gave the word to the line: I heard the word, *march:* the whole was in motion directly.—Colonel Sloper ſaid to me, are we going to charge? or ſomething of that kind—I replied, it looks ſo.---Colonel Sloper ſaid, I have not thrown away my picket poles; do, for God's ſake, tell Lord George, the line is not ready, and beg him to ſtop one minute; I went directly to Lord George, and aſked him if we were going to charge? He ſaid he believed ſo, very ſoon. I then ſaid, pray, my lord, ſtop a minute, juſt till the line make themſelves ready. Lord George ſaid, what do you mean, Sir, who ſays the line is not ready? I anſwered, my lord, I come from Colonel Sloper, who begs you will ſtop half a minute, juſt till he throws away his picket poles. My lord anſwered, tell Colonel Sloper to throw them away as we move up: for I will *not* halt the line now it is in motion. As I went along the line I gave the word to prepare for the charge, and to throw away every thing that encumbered them. When I went back from

move the Saxe-Gotha regiment, conſequently the aforeſaid time muſt have been ſeven or eight minutes. Captain Biſſet ſuppoſed the time to be ſix or ſeven minutes. Captain Lloyd rode 300 yards and back again, full ſpeed, in the ſaid time.

my

my Lord George to Colonel Sloper, I gave the word as I went along: when I came to Colonel Sloper, I told him he muſt throw away his picket poles as he advanced, for Lord George ſaid he would not halt the line. Upon which Colonel Sloper gave the word, *halt*, to his ſquadron. I endeavoured to explain myſelf again, and he replied to me, I ſhall do it quicker, never fear; I ſhall not ſtop a moment. As he was the right hand ſquadron, I did not think it of any great conſequence, ſo turned about to go back to Lord George, who was then, I think, upon the right of the Inniſkillings: He could not be with the right ſquadron of Bland's, as I carried the order between my lord and that ſquadron. A. D. 1759.

As I returned to Lord George, I perceived Colonel Fitzroy juſt come, and ſpeaking to Lord George. I ſaw Lord George put back his hand, and heard him ſay, "Ceaſe the drums, and give the word halt; halt the line." By this time I got near enough to hear Lord George ſay, "Why, Sir, Mr. Ligonier ſays the whole: don't be in a hurry, Fitzroy." Colonel Fitzroy replied, "My lord, we bring the ſame order." It is extremely difficult to ſay what followed: there were ſeveral ſpeaking together; I could not hear them: I felt myſelf diſtreſſed; and therefore, if what I ſay ſhould appear to be unconnected, it is not my fault.---I recollect ſeeing Captain Ligonier ſpeak at that inſtant, but I cannot upon my oath ſay what the words were.---My Lord George appeared to me to be angry with Mr. Fitzroy: I heard him

A. D. 1759.

ſay to them, "I wiſh you would agree what you orders are; *I am ready to obey either.*" Captain Fitzroy appeared to me to be the moſt preſſing in his manner; and I ſaw that he prevailed ſo much upon Lord George by his eagerneſs, that he aſked Colonel Fitzroy, which way he would have him go: and Colonel Fitzroy pointed to the rear, towards our left. I cannot ſay what the words were; ſomething about the way runs in my memory: he pointed to the wood cloſe upon our left. Colonel Fitzroy ſaid he was no guide: "but, ſays he, I will endeavour to ſhew you the way I came:" Then I recollect there were four or five more words paſſed about the way. The next thing that I heard was, Lord George, with a loud voice, ſay, "Where is the Prince? is he far off?" Captain Fitzroy anſwered, "My lord, I left him juſt on the other ſide of the wood, coming this way." My Lord George ſaid, "How far? Colonel Fitzroy ſaid, "About one or two brigades."

We then went, all three, towards the Prince; and as we rode along, Colonel Fitzroy repeated his orders to me, and perſiſted in them very ſtrongly, ſo ſtrongly, that he convinced me ſo much I could not help telling Lord George what he ſaid to me: Lord George's anſwer to me was, "Mr. Ligonier's was to the full as ſtrong:" But the ground appearing to open on the other ſide of the trees, that ſeemed to me to weigh with his lordſhip; and he ſent me back for the Britiſh cavalry juſt as we had paſſed through the trees.

As

As I returned back, I ſaw the ſecond line of cavalry juſt coming into the open part of the trees: I was ſurprized at ſeeing them come there, knowing that my order muſt be the lateſt. I went up to my Lord Granby, and aſked him where he was coming, and what brought him there: he told me he was ordered by Mr. Wintzingerode to advance to form one line. I, knowing nothing of theſe orders, told him that I was ſure they were changed then: for it was for the Britiſh only, and that I was then going to fetch General Moſtyn, and the Britiſh of the firſt line; ſo begged he would go on with his Britiſh, and that I would fetch General Moſtyn as faſt as poſſible. I went on immediately to General Moſtyn: he was ſtanding about the center of the Britiſh troops; and, that no time might be loſt, as I paſſed the blues, I told the officers to wheel to the left by quarter-ranks. General Moſtyn ſaw me coming, and advanced to me. I told him I was come to fetch them; that the blues were already wheeled; and, if he would put them in motion, I would conduct him, as Lord George's orders were to move with all poſſible expedition; which we did: and, juſt as we came near the wood, there was a little bit of quickſet hedge: we left it upon our left: then we came among ſome foreſt trees, and were obliged to incline a little to our left, on account of ſome hollies and black-thorns, and a couple of carriages, artillery waggons. The men divided to let them through theſe trees, without any other interruption: we ſoon got upon heathy ground. A. D. 1759.

A. D. 1759. He further depoſed, That it was about 50 or 60 yards between the right ſquadron of the Inniſkilling regiment, and the right ſquadron of Bland's: that the time was not above two minutes between the delivery of the order by Ligonier and Fitzroy. That the wood was not above 100 yards wide: but that the cavalry might have been ſooner formed in one line, by advancing to the windmill, than by going through the wood to the left. Which was alſo aſſerted by Captain Sutherland.

Colonel Hotham, Captain Lloyd, and ſeveral others, were brought to depoſe, That Captain Ligonier brought orders for the whole cavalry to advance, and that Colonel Fitzroy's orders were for the Britiſh cavalry only to advance.

To explain the reaſons for the cavalry's halting in their march over the heath, after paſſing the wood, ſeveral witneſſes were called, and ſhewed that a halting was neceſſary to dreſs the line, &c.

Conteſt with the judge-advocate.

After Lord George had finiſhed his evidence, there enſued a conteſt between him and the judge-advocate, about the propriety of the latter's bringing freſh evidence upon the reply: whereupon all parties were ordered to withdraw; and the court being again opened, in about an hour and a half, the judge-advocate read their opinion, which was, "They are of opinion, not to admit any new witneſſes to be called to prove, that Lord George Sackville appeared to them *to be alarmed*, in corroboration of Colonel Sloper's evidence, becauſe that appears to be a circumſtance, which may materially operate in ſupport of the charge.---They are

are of opinion, to admit evidence to prove Colonel Sloper's having declared theſe facts the day after, or in ſhort time after, the battle; the credibility of his evidence appearing to be in ſome degree impeached by Lord George Sackville." A. D. 1759.

Evidence upon the reply.

The judge-advocate then proceeded by way of reply, and, before the priſoner had ſummed up his defence, to examine ſome witneſſes in confirmation of the evidence of Lieutenant-Colonel Sloper; and for this purpoſe, the Marquis of Granby being called, depoſed,---That a day or two, or very ſoon after the battle, Colonel Sloper told him, that Wintzingerode, Colonels Fitzroy and Ligonier, had come with orders for Lord George Sackville, to march and form a third line to ſupport the foot, and that his lordſhip did not obey; but was in a hurry, or confuſed, or ſomething to that purpoſe, he could not remember the expreſſion. But did not poſitively take upon him to ſay, whether it was on the 2d of Auguſt, or not.

Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Harvey, of the Inniſkilling dragoons, depoſed as follows: On the 2d of Auguſt, about two or three o'clock, the deponent returned to camp with a detachment, and meeting Lieutenant-Colonel Sloper, expreſſed his concern ſtrongly to him, that the cavalry had not had a ſhare of glory the day before, and aſked him how it came about; he immediately replied, "By the miſbehaviour of Lord George Sackville." He don't pretend to remember the words, but the facts were ſo ſtrong, it is impoſſible for him to forget them. On further enquiry,

Lieutenant-

A. D. 1759. Lieutenant-Colonel Sloper told the deponent, that an aid de camp of the Prince's had delivered orders to Lord George for a movement of the cavalry to be made to the left, in order to ſuſtain the infantry. That, on an heſitation to the obedience of this order, he had himſelf ſaid to Lord George Sackville, that the order received could mean nothing, but a movement to the left; that he obſerved perſonal confuſion; and that, inſtead of the order being complied with, time was trifled away.

Lieutenant-Colonel Ligonier depoſed,----That he delivered his orders at the head of Bland's regiment; and immediately after he delivered his orders, he not only ſaw but ſpoke to Lieutenant-Colonel Sloper. That Colonel Sloper deſired him, "Repeat your orders to Lord George, that he may not pretend not to underſtand you: he has received the ſame order half an hour ago from Wintzingerode;" or words to that effect. Lieutenant-Colonel Sloper farther ſaid to him, "You ſee the condition he is in."---And it being then aſked, (by deſire of Lord George) what he thought was meant by the condition he is in? He anſwered, ---That Lord George was perplexed---he can't ſay, why;---confuſed, but he could not tell from what motive he judged.

Lord George Sackville then ſummed up his defence, in a very long but clear and diſtinct ſpeech to the court; and then the judge-advocate proceeded to the examination of witneſſes, in order

to

to fix Lord George's ſituation at the time of Ligonier's delivering his orders. A. D. 1759.

Major George Marriot, who commanded the left ſquadron of the Inniſkillings, depoſed, That he ſaw Captain Ligonier at the diſtance of about 50 yards, coming towards the right ſquadron of the blues: but that he did not at that inſtant ſee Lord George, whom he ſhould certainly have ſeen, had his lordſhip been then in the front of the right ſquadron of the Inniſkillings [t].

Lord George examined no witneſſes in anſwer to this evidence upon the reply: but made ſuch obſervations, as tended to invalidate the evidence of Colonel Sloper, and Captain Ligonier concerning his poſt at the time Captain Ligonier delivered the Prince's orders to his lordſhip; and eſpecially Lord George's obſervations.

[t] Major Robert Hepburn, who commanded the Inniſkilling dragoons, and was poſted at the right ſquadron, depoſed,—That he ſaw Lieutenant-Colonel Ligonier coming from the right; but whether he had delivered any orders, or not, he could not ſay.—That Colonel Ligonier, in paſſing along the front of the Inniſkillings from Bland's, mentioned ſomething, but he did not hear diſtinctly, of the enemy's giving way; and that the cavalry was ſent for, or ſomething to that purpoſe. Colonel Ligonier depoſed,—That he came upon the left, and rode along the front both of the blues and Inniſkillings; and did not remember to have ſeen Captain Smith whilſt he was with Lord George.

Cornet Alexander Earle, of the firſt ſquadron of Bland's dragoons, depoſed,—That he ſaw Colonel Ligonier come to Lord George whilſt he was at the head of that ſquadron, and ſaw Colonel Sloper near him.

to

A. D. 1759. to deſtroy the veracity of Colonel Sloper [u]; and then addreſſing himſelf to the court, ſays, "I would

[u] "I ſhall now ſay a few words with regard to the evidence in reply, brought to confirm Colonel Sloper's teſtimony, that I was at the right of Bland's regiment when Captain Ligonier delivered his order to me.

It is difficult, as I have already obſerved, to fix with preciſion, at what particular part of a line a general officer may have ſtood while he received an order; though it is eaſy to aſcertain, whether he was at the extremity of it, or not: the witneſſes, in defence, have not attempted to be poſitive as to the particular ſpot where I was; but only, that I was not at the right of Bland's, the extremity of the whole line.

Colonel Hotham, Lieutenant Biſſet, Captain Lloyd, and Lieutenant Sutherland, who were all preſent with me, and heard the order delivered, think, to the beſt of their recollection, I was ſomewhere about the right of the Inniſkillings; or, as Colonel Hotham ſays, the left of Bland's; but not on the right of Bland's. Lieutenant Biſſet recollects it from this circumſtance, that he does not remember at that time the hedges that were on the right of the line. Lieutenant Sutherland is poſitive, that I was not on the right of Bland's, becauſe he called for Captain Ligonier upon the halt that Colonel Fitzroy's order occaſioned, and remembers that he ſaw him come from the cavalry on the right, which was Bland's. Captain Smith, who was then ſtanding himſelf at the right ſquadron of Bland's, with Colonel Sloper, ſaw Captain Ligonier come up to me, as well as he can recollect, about the right of the Inniſkillings; for he imagines, that, when I gave the word, march, I directed my voice to that regiment; and he relates the circumſtance which fixed it in his memory, That Colonel Sloper ſaid his men had not thrown away their picket-poles, and deſired him to go and beg, that I would wait a minute, till they had done it.

Againſt this evidence there was only the teſtimony of Captain Ligonier, who ſaid he delivered his orders to me at the head

would not have given you any trouble about this, from a regard to my own cauſe, which cannot be in A. D. 1759.

head of Bland's; but coming in a hurry, and leaving me ſoon, he might very eaſily have miſtaken the place; and Colonel Sloper, who ſaid his poſt was there, and he heard the orders delivered; but the orders which he relates, are proved by all the other witneſſes, and by Captain Ligonier, to have been different from the orders delivered.—This is not the only objection to Colonel Sloper's evidence in this reſpect, though it is a ſtrong one; but he ſwears ſo differently from every other witneſs in another circumſtance, that if the proſecutor inſiſts ſtill upon ſupporting his credit, he muſt of neceſſity admit, that his memory is extremely confuſed with regard to Captain Ligonier's order.

All the witneſſes agree, that after the cavalry had moved forwards a little way, from where Captain Malhorty halted them, to a more extenſive ground, they made no other movement till Captain Ligonier arrived; and then, immediately upon the order, they drew their ſwords and advanced.

Colonel Sloper has not only introduced a movement between Captain Wintzingerode's departure and Captain Ligonier's arrival, of which no other witneſs but himſelf makes any mention, but he totally omits the movement made upon Captain Ligonier's arrival; and ſays poſitively, in another part of his depoſition, that Captain Ligonier was a quarter of an hour with me; and that the cavalry did not move till 20 minutes after I left them, to go to the Prince.

Now, ſhould it be ſuppoſed for a moment, that, in theſe particulars, Colonel Sloper had not wilfully miſ-ſtated every circumſtance, what is the conſequence? That he was in ſo much confuſion, with regard to Captain Ligonier's order, that every thing which is ſaid of him, on that occaſion, may be true, and that his account of it cannot be relied on.

Captain Ligonier has been examined again.—He was aſked, if he remembers ſeeing Colonel Sloper when he delivered his order to me. He had before ſaid, that immediately on his order,

A. D. 1759. in the leaſt affected by it; but as I have ſhewn an anxiety to remove the ſeeming contradictions of the

der, without anſwering him, I gave the word, march, to the troops, which they did: he has now ſaid, not that he ſaw Colonel Sloper when he delivered his order; but that, after Colonel Fitzroy delivered his order, he ſaw and ſpoke with Colonel Sloper: and in his firſt examination he ſays, that he did not hear what paſſed between Colonel Fitzroy and me, being at ſome diſtance with Colonel Sloper.

It appears now, therefore, that Captain Ligonier did not ſpeak with Colonel Sloper immediately after delivering his order, as this laſt witneſs repreſented it; but after the troops had advanced, and were even halted, upon Colonel Fitzroy's coming up—which is not inconſiſtent with Captain Smith's evidence; for the circumſtance of Colonel Sloper's deſiring me to ſtop, till his men had thrown away their picket-poles, muſt have happened before this.—And it alſo appears, that when Captain Ligonier ſpoke with Colonel Sloper, he was at ſome diſtance from me. It is no contradiction to Captain Smith, that Captain Ligonier does not remember to have ſeen or heard him deliver his meſſage to me: That is eaſily accounted for by the general hurry when a march is begun: and Captain Smith ſays, Captain Ligonier might poſſibly not hear him, as the drums were then beating.

Two officers of the Inniſkillings have been examined, to ſhew that I was not at the right ſquadron of the Inniſkillings when the order was delivered. None of them ſaw nor heard Captain Ligonier deliver his order; and, unleſs they had, they could in no degree contradict the evidence of thoſe, who were preſent, when it was delivered.—Major Marriot ſays, Captain Ligonier told him, he brought orders for the Britiſh cavalry to advance. And Major Hepburn, who commanded the right ſquadron of the Inniſkillings, ſays, "That, as he was frequently in the rear, he cannot but ſay, that, if Captain Ligonier had delivered his orders to me in the front, he thinks he ſhould have ſeen him."—Both theſe officers, too, have a very

the witneſſes againſt me, who have behaved with candour, I could not pay leſs attention to the witneſſes in my behalf. A. D. 1759.

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very imperfect memory of the circumſtances they ſpeak to. They both ſeem to place the cavalry's advancing *after* Captain Ligonier's return from delivering his order; whereas it is agreed, that immediately upon the order the troops advanced; and after that, Captain Ligonier went to the right to Colonel Sloper, before he could return towards the Inniſkillings.

An officer of the right ſquadron of Bland's was likewiſe called, and he proves very little:—He ſays, that, ſoon after we halted, I was at the head of Bland's, and that I was there alſo when Captain Ligonier came up; but then he ſays, that he cannot recollect where I was when the ſquadron advanced. Now it is certain, from Captain Ligonier's evidence, that I advanced immediately, and from the ſame place, where he delivered the order; and this, together with what he ſays, that he was at too great a diſtance to perceive Captain Ligonier and me talk together, ſhews the very imperfect recollection the witneſs has of this circumſtance. In regard to Captain Smith, this witneſs confirms his evidence in one reſpect: he proves, that the ſquadron had not thrown away their picket-poles before it began to move: he ſays, indeed, they did it while they were moving; but Captain Smith does not ſay that he ſaw them halt, only that he heard the word given to halt, and after that he left them.

Colonel Johnſton proves nothing, but that he ſaw Captain Ligonier paſs along the front of the blues; but he did not ſee him deliver his order.

The former evidence, then, on this article, ſeems to me rather weakened by this unſucceſsful attempt to ſtrengthen it.

The three officers, who did not ſee Captain Ligonier deliver his orders, I may venture to lay aſide entirely. Captain Ligonier's ſecond examination, as I have already ſhewn, has weakened his evidence. If Colonel Sloper is to be believed—Captain Ligonier, and every other witneſs, is wrong; ſo that the

A. D. 1759. If there are contradictions in the evidence, that imputation muſt fall ſomewhere:----Let it fall where it ought: let thoſe who have ſworn falſely feel it in their breaſts: let them remember they have ſworn wrong: let them feel the effects of it: this is puniſhment. A guilty and diſturbed conſcience will inflict *that puniſhment*, without any other reſort. Let it light where it is due. Let them examine their hearts, whether they have given their evidence as they ought: let them, if they can, ſpend their lives without being puniſhed.

As to my witneſſes, I have only this to ſay, it appears, at leaſt, they can have no temptation to ſay what is not true: they ſtand up in an unfaſhionable cauſe, and, I may as yet ſay, in defence of an injured man.

Till the court has ſaid I am guilty, I ſtand here with a conſcience innocent, aſſerting that innocence, which bears teſtimony for me.

My witneſſes cannot ſay, what they have ſaid, without being convinced that it is truth, and ſaid in ſupport of innocence. They can have no motives of intereſt. What motives of intereſt can there be on the ſide of one, who is a priſoner, who has been in great employments? perhaps unworthily? Employments which, had I continued in power, might have procured good-will, at

the whole proof, that I was at the head of Bland's, reſts upon Cornet Earle, whoſe memory is plainly very indiſtinct; and it is proved that I was not, by Colonel Hotham, Lieutenant Lloyd, Lieutenant Biſſet, Lieutenant Sutherland, and Captain Smith.

leaſt

leaſt the appearance of it. At preſent they can have no temptation, but the force of truth; and, by their appearing in that cauſe, and on theſe motives, they deſerve as great a degree of credibility, as any witneſs at any bar. In juſtice to them, I have troubled the court thus far: I ſhall trouble them no longer; but expreſs my acknowledgments, not only for their patience in hearing me, but for the many inſtances of their indulgence. I can expect no better ſecurity for my cauſe, than their uninfluenced determination. I have mentioned already, that I have the ſecurity of their oath; I have a ſtronger ſtill, their honour: Upon that I rely.---If I am guilty, let me be declared ſo: If I am not guilty, let the court ſhew, by their ſentence, that they will with pleaſure protect the innocent." A. D. 1759.

The court having duly weighed the evidence on both ſides, found Lord George Sackville GUILTY of the charge laid againſt him, and paſſed the following ſentence, publiſhed on the 26th of April 1760 in the London Gazette.

"This court, upon due conſideration of the whole matter before them, is of opinion, That, Lord George Sackville is guilty of having diſobeyed the orders of Prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, whom he was by his commiſſion and inſtructions directed to obey, as commander in chief, according to the rules of war; and it is the farther opinion of this court, that the ſaid Lord George Sackville is, and he is hereby adjudged, unfit

A. D. 1759. unfit to ſerve his Majeſty in any military capacity whatever."

Which ſentence his Majeſty was pleaſed to confirm, with this addition:

"It is his Majeſty's pleaſure, that the above ſentence be given out in public orders, that officers being convinced that neither high birth, nor great employments, can ſhelter offences of ſuch a nature; and that ſeeing they are ſubject to cenſures much worſe than death, to a man, who has any ſenſe of honour, they may avoid the fatal conſequences ariſing from diſobedience of orders."

Progreſs of the war in North America.

How far this employment of the French in Germany, which, by exhauſting their treaſure, and draining their country of the flower of their growing generation of military men, diſabled their miniſtry to provide for the defence of their poſſeſſions in North America, is not to be debated by an hiſtorian. The reader will be beſt able to judge in ſuch a political controverſy, from the facts already ſtated in our account of the German war; and from thoſe advantages, we were reaping over the arms of France, at the ſame time, both on the continent and in the iſlands of America.

The obſtinacy, &c. of the French.

The conqueſt of Cape Breton, and its appendages, had opened a way for the entire extirpation of the French from their poſſeſſions upon the bay and river of St. Lawrence: and their expulſion from the Ohio, by the loſs of Fort du Queſne, deprived them of the friendſhip and aſſiſtance of thoſe Indians, they were not able to protect, and without whom the French were in

no

no condition to preſerve their communication with Louiſiana. Yet, ſuch is the obſtinacy and ambition of that nation, that, rather than ſubmit to the juſt and equitable conditions of leaving Great Britain in quiet poſſeſſion of thoſe limits of her American dominions, to which ſhe had a right by preoccupancy or diſcovery, confirmed by treaties, and now ready to fall by conqueſt; they reſolved to continue the war, and to riſk the loſs of Canada alſo; rather than abandon their uſurpations and encroachments upon the lakes. England would have been content with the acquiſition of her own right, and convinced the world of the uprightneſs of his Majeſty's intentions in the conferences, before the war, for aſcertaining the limits of the poſſeſſions of the reſpective crowns in North America; and the whole tenor of the French operations, eſpecially their obſtinate continuation of the war, after they were routed from ſome encroachments; and unable to maintain their footing in the reſt; and nothing but total ruin appeared in their future operations on that continent, expoſed their perfidy during thoſe conferences, and their reſolution never to give up any encroachment, ſo long as they are able to keep an army in the field, or a garriſon within a fortification. Quebec and Canada might have been ſaved, had they acquieſced in our juſt title and right to the antient limits of Acadia or Nova Scotia: and been content with the limits of that territory allowed them by former treaties, without encroaching upon the Britiſh provinces, in order A. D. 1759.

A. D. 1759. to unite the ſtrength of Canada with Louiſiana. But all their plans and endeavours failed. The conquerors of Louiſbourg made no difficulty of carrying the Britiſh arms up the river St. Lawrence, and to extirpate the name of France from off the ſhore of that river, and from their encroachments upon the lakes.

Conqueſt of Quebec and Canada reſolved. No loſſes being able to diſpoſe France to think of peace or terms of accommodation, the Britiſh miniſtry reſolved to follow the blow given that crown, laſt year, in North America. An expedition was planned againſt Quebec, the capital of Canada. As this was the only place left on that continent to be attacked: and from which alone it was poſſible for the French to make any ſtand, and to renew their attempts againſt our colonies, it was reſolved, by their miniſtry, to hazard every danger to ſtrengthen that garriſon, and its dependencies. So that they diſpatched 2000 regulars, under the convoy of ſeven ſhips of the line and three frigates, from Breſt, for this ſervice, as early as the 21ſt of January.

Relieved by France.

The Engliſh plan. The plan laid down by the Britiſh miniſter was, to ſend a number of troops, under the command of General Wolfe, on board a fleet, up the river St. Lawrence; with orders for General Amherſt, then at New York, to proceed with another conſiderable body of troops over-land, to join General Wolfe, and jointly to attack Quebec; and with further orders for the Generals Prideaux and Johnſon to advance with a third army, by the way of Niagara, to attack and reduce Montreal, the

the ſecond place of ſtrength in Canada; with inſtructions for General Amherſt to begin the campaign with the reduction of Ticondoraga and Crown Point: and for the other generals to make themſelves maſters of Niagara. A. D. 1759.

This was intended to be a deciſive ſtroke againſt an enemy, that could not be otherwiſe brought to reaſon. For which purpoſe the armaments, both by ſea and land, were the more powerful. By ſea a fleet of twenty-one ſail of the line [w], beſides frigates, tranſports, &c. commanded by three admirals, Saunders, Holmes and Durel; the land forces, under General Wolfe, were 7000 regulars and provincials: and their rendezvous was ordered to be at Louiſbourg. Forces by ſea and land.

This fleet ſailed from England about the middle of February, and got within ſight of the harbour of Louiſbourg on the 21ſt of April; but it was ſo blocked up with ice, that the fleet were obliged to bear away for Hallifax in Nova Scotia: and being informed before they left England, that a French ſquadron, victuallers and tranſports, were ſailed before them, Admiral Durel was detached Fleet ſails. Arrive at Hallifax.

	Guns.
[w] The Neptune	90
Royal William	80
Princeſs Amelia	80
Dublin	74
Shrewſbury	74
Northumberland	70
Oxford	70
Somerſet	70
Vanguard	70
Terrible	64
Trident	64
The Alcide	64
Devonſhire	64
Captain	64
Stirling Caſtle	64
Prince of Orange	60
Medway	60
Pembroke	60
Bedford	60
Centurion	54
Sutherland	50

A. D. 1759. with a ſquadron to the iſle of Courdres, in the river of St. Lawrence, in hopes of intercepting them. But he arrived too late at his ſtation to do any more ſervice than taking two ſtore-ſhips; ſeventeen ſhips, laden with proviſions, ſtores and recruits, having already made good their voyage to Quebec, under convoy of three frigates.

French victuallers taken.

While Admiral Saunders is detained at Hallifax, let us take a view of the grand object of our operations in this campaign on the North American continent.

Deſcription and Importance of Quebec.

Quebec, for whoſe conqueſt the other operations againſt Crown Point and Niagara were preparatory, lies on the moſt navigable river in the known world, with a harbour of freſh water, capable of holding 100 men of war of the line, at the diſtance of 120 leagues from the ocean. This city is named from its ſituation on the narroweſt part of the river St. Lawrence, which for 112 leagues, or to the iſle of Orleans, from its mouth, is no leſs than four or five leagues broad: but above that iſle it narrows ſo much, that before Quebec, it meaſures not above a mile in breadth; which ſtraining or ſtrait, in the Algonquin tongue, is rendered Quibeis or Quebec. But the Aberaquis, whoſe language is a dialect of the Algonquin, called it Quelibeck, which imports a place ſhut up or concealed; becauſe, as you enter from the little river of Chaudiers (by which theſe ſavages came to Quebec from Acadia) the point of Levy, which juts out beyond the Iſle of Orleans, entirely hides the ſouth channel of the river St. Law-

Lawrence, as the iſle of Orleans does that on the north: ſo that from thence the port of Quebec appears like a large baſon or bay, land-locked on all ſides. As to the city, it is large, containing about 7000 ſouls; one part very high, the other lies at the foot of a high rock, well built, and graced with a large cathedral, the biſhop's palace, and other churches and public buildings. But its fortifications are not ſo regular, as might have been expected from the money and time expended in their building and improvement; though in a condition to bear a ſiege. For the town, as it was, when attacked by our forces, this year, was found to be not only naturally ſtrong; but the port was flanked by two baſtions, almoſt even with the water, at high tides; and a little above the baſtion, to the right, was a half baſtion cut out of the rock; and a little higher, nearer the fort, there was another battery of twenty-five cannon. The citadel, in the form of a ſquare fort, is the reſidence of the governor, and ſtands above all, with extreme rugged communications between the fortifications. Beſides, on the left of the port, along the road to the river St. Charles, the ſhore was well defended by good batteries of cannon and ſome mortars. From the right angle of the citadel, facing the town, there was a curtain drawn aſlant, which joined a pretty ſteep redoubt, on which ſtood a fortified windmill: and deſcending from thence, within a muſket-ſhot, ſtood a tower with a baſtion, and another at an equal diſtance. There was another A. D. 1759.

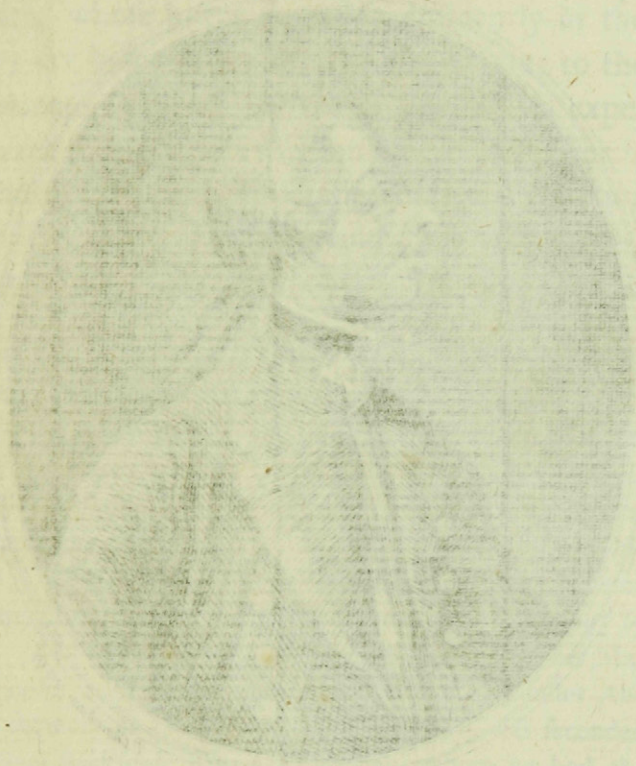
A. D. 1759. redoubt near the palace, and another on Cape Diamond. The rock, which ſeparates the upper from the lower town, extends itſelf, and continues with a bold and ſteep front weſt, along the river St. Laurence, for a conſiderable way. St. Charles's river waſhes the foot of this rock, and falls here into St. Laurence's: whereby the point, on which the town ſtands, becomes a ſort of peninſula, by the junction of theſe two rivers. So that, to attack the city, it was neceſſary to make the approaches above the town, and overcome the eminence, or croſs the river St. Charles, and attempt it on that ſide. Both theſe methods were extremely difficult. In the former a precipice is to be aſcended, defended by all the enemy's force. In the latter, the country from the river St. Charles north, for above five miles, is extremely rough, broken, and full of rivulets, gullies and ravines, and continues ſo to the river Montmorenci, which flows at the foot of a ſteep and woody hill. And on the ſide of the river St. Lawrence is a bank of ſand of great extent, which prevents any conſiderable veſſel approaching the ſhore. This city was the ſeat of the power and ſtrength of the French on this continent, and the den from whence all thoſe miſchiefs have iſſued and ſpread over the Britiſh territories. This was their mart of trade, where their traffic with the Indians of the different nations on the Miſſiſſippi, Ohio and the great lakes, towards the ſouth, and with the Eſchamaux on the north, almoſt to the coaſt of Hudſon's Bay, centered, and ſupplied Europe with

with bever and furrs. Here our friendly Indians were continually ſeduced to murder and ſcalp the Engliſh, and found protection, if inclined to revolt from their allegiance ſworn under the ſacred faith of treaties. From hence were executed all thoſe ſchemes for encroachments upon our provinces, driving the Engliſh into the ſea, and monopolizing the fiſhery. All the forts erected, as far as the French had extended their uſurpations, were added to this government. And this was the grand repoſitory of all merchandize, for trade with the Indians, and of all proviſions and ſtores, ammunition and artillery; and the rendezvous of their military power, to maintain what they had got poſſeſſion of, and to extend their dominion. In a word, there could be no ſafety, no truſting to the faith of any treaty, for aſcertaining and ſecuring the limits of territories belonging to the two crowns, if this town and its dependencies ſhould remain in the hands of the French: and in its deſtruction it was certain that their long-concerted ſcheme of univerſal empire in North America would expire. A. D. 1759.

The French did, therefore, collect all the ſtrength they were able to defend their capital: and deviſed every method to obſtruct the appproaches and operations of our fleet and armies. Succours of all kinds found their way into Quebec, before our armaments could arrive for action. The Marquis of Montcalm, who had triumphed hitherto over the Engliſh, was entrenched in a very advantage- The French prepare for defence.

A. D. 1759. vantageous ſituation, with five battalions of regular troops, compleated from the beſt inhabitants of the country, ſome troops of the colony, every Canadian that was able to bear arms, and ſeveral nations of ſavages; in all upwards of 12000 men, beſides Indians. Their camp extended along the ſhore of Beaufort, from the river St. Charles to the falls of Montmorency, and entrenched in every acceſſible place, with the river and ſand-banks in front, and impracticable woods in the rear. This poſt was not only impregnable, but it enabled the army to throw ſuccours into the city every day. There was alſo out-parties ſtationed, to defend ſome principal poſts. On point Levy they had artillery and a reſpectable party; from whence, and from the weſtern point of the iſle of Orleans, our ſhipping might be prevented to lie in, or to approach the baſon of Quebec. But above all the M. de Montcalm placed his greateſt dependance on the natural ſtrength of the country, which created greater obſtacles to our arms, than there was reaſon to expect, or could be foreſeen. And to this uncommon ſtrength of the country the enemy had provided and added a great number of floating batteries and boats, for the defence of the river. So that when our army arrived at the ſeat of action, the commander in chief expreſſes himſelf in theſe words, "That the moſt formidable part of the armament was deprived of the power of acting, by the nature of the river: "That he had almoſt the whole force

Their ſtrength.





MAJOR GENERAL WOLFE.

of Canada to oppoſe: and that in his ſituation there was ſuch a choice of difficulties, as made him at a loſs how to determine [x]. Difficulties reſerved to immortalize the conquerors!" But compared with the abilities and magnanimity of our commanders, they drop, one after another, like icicles by the heat of the ſun. A. D. 1759.

Wolfe, whoſe luſtre ſhone ſo eminently in the military art before Louiſbourg, did honour to the appointment of the chief command in this expedition, at the recommendation of the miniſter [y], by whoſe advice it was undertaken. He was a ſoldier by deſcent; the ſon and heir of the martial genius of Major General Wolfe, a veteran of Characters of the commanders.

[x] See General Wolfe's Letter to the Right Honourable Mr. PITT, dated September 2d, 1759.

[y] Mr. PITT, in parliament, after the death of General Wolfe, expaciated on his tranſcendent merit, his conduct during all operations, his ſurmounting by abilities and valour all obſtacles of art and nature, his reſolution in landing, his courage in the field, his loſs to the public, the importanee of the conqueſt, the blow given to the enemy, and the glory to Britain. And then moved for an addreſs, to deſire his Majeſty to order a monument, to be erected in Weſtminſter-Abbey, in memory of the deceaſed General. He was ſeconded by William Beckford, Eſq; a gentleman, whom he had the happineſs to number amongſt his friends; who remarked, That in the appointment of General Wolfe to the command in that expedition, there had been no parliamentary intereſts, no family connections, nor ariſtocratical views: that the general and miniſter ſeemed to have been made for each other; and that there were ſome circumſtances almoſt ſimilar between them; Wolfe loſt his life, and the miniſter had hazarded his head for his country, &c. &c.

acknow-

A. D. 1759. acknowledged courage and conduct [z]. And he had given pregnant examples, wherever concerned, of

[z] *Inſtructions drawn up by the late Major General Wolfe, for the 20th regiment of foot, then lying in Canterbury, in caſe of the French landing in* 1755.

Whoever ſhall throw away his arms in action, whether officer, non-commiſſion officer, or ſoldier, unleſs it appears, that they are ſo damaged as to be uſeleſs, either under pretence of taking up others of a better ſort, or for any cauſe whatſoever, muſt expect to be tried by a *general court martial* for the crime.

If a ſerjeant leaves the platoon he is appointed to, or does not take upon him the immediate command of it, in caſe the officer falls, ſuch ſerjeant will be tried for his life, as ſoon as a court martial can be conveniently aſſembled. Neither officer, non-commiſſion officer nor ſoldier, is to leave his platoon, or abandon the colours, for a ſlight wound.—While a man is able to do his duty, and can ſtand, and hold his arms, *it is infamous to retire.*

The battalion is not to halloo, or cry out, upon any account whatſoever, although the reſt of the troops ſhould do it, till they are ordered to charge with their bayonets; in that caſe, and when they are upon the point of ruſhing upon the enemy, the battalion may give a warlike ſhout and ruſh in. Before the battle begins, and while the battalion is marching towards the enemy, the officer commanding a platoon is to be at the head of his men, looking frequently back upon them, to ſee that they are in order, the ſerjeant in the mean while taking his place in the interval; and the officers are not to go to the flanks of the platoon, till they have their orders, or a ſignal ſo to do, from the commanding officer of the battalion; and this will only be given a little before the action begins.

If the battalion ſhould be crouded at any time, or confined in their ground, the captain, or officer commanding a grand diviſion,

of his improved talents in the art of war, and of his intrepidity and firmneſs. A. D. 1759.

He

diviſion, may order his center platoon to fall back, till the battalion can extend itſelf again, ſo as to take up its uſual ground.

All the officers upon the left of the colours are to be upon the left of their platoons; the captain of the piquet is to be upon the left of his piquet, and the enſign in the center. Every grand diviſion, conſiſting of two companies, as they now are, is to be told off into three platoons, to be commanded by a captain, a lieutenant and an enſign, with a ſerjeant to each: the reſt of the officers, and non-commiſſion officers, are to be diſtributed in the rear, to complete the files, to keep the men to their duty, and to ſupply the places of the officers and ſerjeants that may be killed or dangerouſly wounded.

Every muſketeer is to have a couple of ſpare balls, an excellent flint in his piece, another or two in his pouch, and as much ammunition as he can carry.

A ſoldier that takes his muſquet off his ſhoulder, and pretends to begin the battle without order, will be put to death that inſtant.—The cowardice, or irregular proceeding of one or two men is enough to put a whole battalion in danger.

A ſoldier that quits his rank, or offers to fly, is to be inſtantly put to death, by the officer who commands the platoon, or by the officer or ſerjeant in the rear of that platoon:—A ſoldier does not deſerve to live who won't fight for his king and country.

If a non-commiſſion officer or private man is miſſing, after an action, and joins his company afterwards unhurt, he will be reputed a coward, and a fugitive, and will be tried for his life. The drummers are to ſtay with their reſpective companies, and to aſſiſt the wounded men.

Every officer, and every non-commiſſion officer, is to keep ſtrictly to his poſt and platoon, from the beginning to the end of an action, and to preſerve all poſſible order and obedience. The confuſion occaſioned by the loſs of men, and the noiſe of the

A. D. 1759. He was alſo extremely happy in the appointment of Brigadiers Monckton, Townſend and Murray,

the artillery and muſquetry, will require every officer's ſtricteſt attention to his duty.—When the files of a platoon are diſordered by the loſs of men, they are to be completed afreſh with the utmoſt expedition; in which the officers and non-commiſſion officers in the rear are to be aiding and aſſiſting. Officers are not to go from one part of the battalion to another, without order, upon any pretence whatſoever.

The eight companies of the battalion are never to purſue the enemy, without particular order ſo to do; the piquet and grenadiers will be detached for that purpoſe, and the battalion is to march in good order to ſupport them.

If the firing is ordered to begin by the platoons, either from the wings, or from the center, it is to proceed in a regular manner, till the enemy is defeated, or till the ſignal is given to attack them with the bayonets.

If we attack a body leſs in extent than the battalion, the platoons upon the wings muſt be careful to direct their fire obliquely, ſo as to ſtrike upon the enemy. The officer is to inform the ſoldiers of his platoon, before the action begins, where they are to direct their fire; and they are to take good care to deſtroy their adverſaries.

There is no neceſſity for firing very faſt; a cool, well-levelled fire, with the pieces carefully loaded, is much more deſtructive and formidable than the quickeſt fire in confuſion.

The ſoldiers are to take their orders from the officer of the platoon; and he is to give them, with all poſſible coolneſs and reſolution.

If a battalion in a front line ſhould give way, and retire in diſorder towards the ſecond line, every other platoon, or every other company, is to march forward a little, leaving intervals open for the diſordered troops to paſs through; and after they are gone by, the battalion forms in one front, and moves forward to take poſt in the firſt line, from whence the broken battalion retired.

If

Murray for his ſubordinates in command. Sons of noblemen: in the prime of life: old in experience, A. D. 1759.

If a battalion upon either flank gives way, and is defeated, the piquet or grenadier company, which ſoever it happens to be, is to fall back immediately, without any confuſion, and protect that flank of the regiment.

The miſbehaviour of any other corps will not effect this battalion, becauſe the officers are determined to give the ſtrongeſt proofs of their fidelity, zeal and courage; in which the ſoldiers will ſecond them with their uſual ſpirit.

If the order of battle be ſuch (and the country admit of it) that it is neceſſary to make breaches in the enemy's line, for the cavalry to fall in upon them, the grand diviſions of the regiment are each to form a firing column, of three platoons in depth, which are to march forward and pierce the enemy's battalion in four places, that the cavalry behind us may get in amongſt them, and deſtroy them: In ſuch an attack only the firſt of the three platoons ſhould fire, and immediately preſent their bayonets and charge. Theſe four bodies are to be careful not to run into one another in their attack, but to preſerve the intervals at a proper diſtance.

All attacks in the night are to be made with bayonets, unleſs when troops are poſted with no other deſign than to alarm, harraſs or fatigue the enemy, by firing at their out-poſts, or into their camp.

If intrenchments, or redoubts, are to be defended obſtinately, the fire is to begin in a regular manner, when the enemy is within ſhot, at about two hundred yards, and to continue till they approach very near; and when the troops perceive that they endeavour to get over the parapet, they are to fix their bayonets and make a *bloody reſiſtance*.

All little parties that are intended to fire upon the enemy's columns of march upon their advanced guard or their rear, are to poſt themſelves ſo as to be able to annoy the enemy without danger, and to cover themſelves with ſlight breaſtworks of ſod behind the hedges, or with trees or walls, or ditches,

A. D. 1759. perience, and reſembling each other in their military qualifications, as well as ſtation. Only this was

ditches, or any other protection, that, if the enemy return the fire, it may do no miſchief. Theſe little parties are to keep their poſts till the enemy prepares to attack with a ſuperiority; upon which they are to retire to ſome other place of the ſame kind, and fire in the ſame manner; conſtantly retiring when they are puſhed. But when a conſiderable detachment of foot is poſted to annoy the enemy upon their march, with orders to retire when attacked by a ſuperior force, the country behind is to be carefully examined, and ſome parties ſent off early to poſt themſelves in the moſt advantageous manner, to cover the retreat of the reſt: this is always to be done in all ſituations when a conſiderable body is ordered to retire.

If an intrenchment is to be attacked, the troops ſhould move as quick as poſſible towards the place, not in line, but in little firing columns, of three or four platoons in depth, with ſmall parties between each column; who are to fire at the top of the parapet, when the columns approach, to divert the enemy's fire, and facilitate their paſſing the ditch and ſcrambling over the parapet, which they muſt endeavour to do without loſs of time. It is to very little purpoſe to fire at men who are covered with an entrenchment; but by attacking in the manner above-mentioned, one may hope to ſucceed.

If the ſeat of war ſhould be in this ſtrong incloſed country, it will be managed chiefly by fire, and every inch of ground that is proper for defence, diſputed with the enemy, in which caſe the ſoldiers will ſoon perceive the advantage of levelling their pieces properly, and they will likewiſe diſcover the uſe of ſeveral evolutions, that they may now be at a loſs to comprehend. The great facility they have at moving from place to place, and from one encloſure to another (either together or in ſeparate bodies) without confuſion and diſorder, the eaſier they will fall upon the enemy with advantage, or retire

when

was ſingular in the honourable George Townſend, That his patriotic ſpirit prevailed over every private A. D. 1759.

when it is proper ſo to do; ſometimes to draw the enemy into a dangerous poſition, at other times to take poſſeſſion of new places of defence, that will be conſtantly prepared behind them.

If the battalion attacks another of nearly equal extent, whoſe flanks are not covered, the grenadiers and piquet may be ordered to detach themſelves and ſurround the enemy, by attacking their flank and rear, while the eight companies charge them in front. The grenadiers and piquet ſhould therefore be accuſtomed to theſe ſort of movements, that they may execute their orders with a great deal of expedition.

If the battalion is to attack another battalion of equal force, and of like number of ranks, and the country be quite open, it is highly probable that, after firing a few rounds, they will be commanded to charge them with their bayonets, for which the officers and men ſhould be prepared.

If the centre of the battalion is attacked by a column, the wings muſt be extremely careful to fire obliquely; and that part of the battalion, againſt which the column marches, muſt reſerve their fire, and if they have time to put two or three bullets in their pieces, it muſt be done. When the column is within about twenty yards, they muſt fire with a good aim, which will neceſſarily ſtop them a little. This body may then open from the centre, and retire by files towards the wings of the regiment, while the neighbouring platoons wheel to the right and left, and either fire, if they are loaded, or cloſe up and charge with their bayonets.

If a body of foot is poſted behind a hedge, ditch, or wall, and, being attacked by a ſuperior force, is ordered to retire, the body ſhould move off by files in one or more lines, as perpendicular as poſſible to the poſts they leave, that when the enemy extend themſelves to fire through the hedges, the object to fire at may be as ſmall as poſſible, and the march of the retired body as quick as poſſible.

A. D. 1759. vate and family connection; and got the better even of reſentment, which had occaſioned his quitting the army, in diſdain for ſome ill treatment by his ſuperiors, after he had been wounded and ſignalized himſelf with reputation at Dettingen, and other places, in the war that ended at the treaty of Aix la Chapelle. During the time of the reſignation of his military commiſſion, this honourable gentleman gave the nation the moſt

The death of an officer commanding a company or platoon ſhould be no excuſe for the confuſion or miſbehaviour of that platoon, for, while there is an officer or non-commiſſion officer left alive, no man is to abandon his colours and betray his country.

The loſs of the field officers will be ſupplied (if it ſhould ſo happen) by the captains, who will execute the plan of the regiment with *honour*.

If the battalion ſhould have the misfortune to be inveſted in their quarters (or in a poſt which they are not commanded to defend) by a great ſuperiority, they have but one remedy; which is, to pierce the enemy's line or lines in the night, and get off. In this caſe, the battalion attacks with the ranks and files cloſed, with their bayonets fixed, and without firing a ſhot.—They will be formed in an order of attack ſuited to the place they are in, the troops they are to charge, and to the nature of the country through which they are to paſs.

If the battalion attacks the enemy's camp or quarters in the night, all poſſible means will be uſed, no doubt, to ſurprize them, but if they are found in arms, they are to be vigorouſly attacked with the bayonets.—It is needleſs to think of firing in the night, becauſe the confuſion it creates, and the uncertainty of hitting any object in the dark.

A column that receives the enemy's fire, and falls immediately in among them, muſt neceſſarily defeat them, and create a very great diſorder in their army.

evident

evident proof of his military talents, by laying down the plan for improving Engliſh courage, and reſtoring the antient and moſt effectual method of internal defence for this kingdom, by a regular and well-diſciplined militia: and if it be to this honourable gentlemen we owe the eſtabliſhment of the preſent militia; he, in that ſervice, will ſhine for ever with greater luſtre, than it is poſſible to be gained by the moſt important conqueſt from an enemy. Having carried his point for a militia, and the ſervice of his country requiring commanders equal to the ſpirit and vigour of our councils, neither the dangers of a long and hazardous navigation: nor the inclemency of the climates: nor the uncommon perils of a war with ſavages, in wilderneſſes never explored: nor his being heir apparent to a noble peer, deſcending with age and infirmities to the grave: nor yet his own affluent fortune, nor domeſtic felicity, were ſufficient to deter him from proffering his ſervice to his ſovereign, on this trying occaſion. A. D. 1759.

The ice cleared away; the troops embarked, and ſailed with the main fleet for Quebec: and by the help of French charts taken from the enemy, and ſkilful pilots, they arrived in ſight of their deſtination, without any of thoſe obſtructions and accidents, which had been always repreſented in a moſt dangerous light, by the French; and perhaps are to be met with at improper ſeaſons of the year; and on the 27th of June the army landed on the iſle of Orleans. Directly after Engliſh armament ſail for Quebec. Land.

A. D. 1759. landing the troops a very hard gale of wind came on, by which many anchors and ſmall boats were loſt, and much damage received among the tranſports driving on each other. On the 28th at midnight, the enemy ſent down from Quebec ſeven fire-ſhips; but without effect: our ſhips being towed all clear: theſe came burning down the river, with the help of a ſtrong current, directed on the body of our fleet. But as ſome ſuch contrivance was expected by the admiral, good proviſion was made for his defence, by having all the boats of the ſquadron out, well manned and armed, with an officer in each boat, and fire-grapplings. The fire-ſhips were inſtantly boarded by our men, who ſo fixed their grapplings and chains, as to tow them clear of every ſhip, to ſhore on the iſle of Orleans, where they burnt to aſhes without doing the leaſt damage.

Fire-ſhips.

Brigadier General Monckton was detached with four battalions, to diſlodge the enemy from a poſt they had, with artillery, on the point of Levi. This detachment paſſed the river in the night of the 29th, had ſeveral ſkirmiſhes next day with Canadians and Indians; but with ſo little loſs, that they obliged the enemy's regulars to retire, and poſſeſſed themſelves of that advantageous poſt before night. At the ſame time Colonel Carleton was detached to ſecure the weſtermoſt point of the Iſle of Orleans; where General Wolfe took his poſt.

Skirmiſhes on ſhore.

As it was neceſſary to maintain theſe two points, both for defence and to annoy the enemy, great diſpatch

A New and Accurate Plan of the RIVER S.T LAWRENCE, from the Falls of Montmorenci to Sillery; with the Operations of the SIEGE of QUEBEC. 1763.



diſpatch was made to erect batteries of cannon and mortars, eſpecially upon Point Levi; which were deſigned to bombard the town and magazines, and to injure the works and batteries [a]. Such an object could not eſcape the attention of the enemy; who, perceiving theſe works in ſome forwardneſs, detached 1600 men a-croſs the river to attack and deſtroy them. But by ſome accident they falling into confuſion, fired upon one another, and went back again: by which our army loſt the opportunity of defeating them. The works were finiſhed, and General Wolfe ſent a flag of truce to the commandant of Quebec, declaring his deſign to attack the town, on the part of his Britannic Majeſty: and at the ſame time ſignifying that it was his Majeſty's expreſs command, to have the war conducted without practiſing the inhuman method of ſcalping, and that it was expected the French troops under his command ſhould copy the example, as they ſhould anſwer the contrary. To which the Marquis de Vaudreuil replied with a ſort of contempt of the few forces, that pretended to undertake the conqueſt of ſo extenſive and populous a country as Cana-

A. D. 1759.

General Wolfe's manifeſto and ſummons of Quebec.

Govenor of Quebec ſummoned.

His reply.

[a] The general, while this was doing, publiſhed and diſtributed a manifeſto among the French coloniſts, in which he aſſerted, that he was ſent to humble the French Monarch's pride, and to reduce the moſt conſiderable French ſettlements in America. He offered them protection in their perſons, property and religion, provided they would remain quiet. He ſhewed them the impracticability of relief from France: and charged them with the effects, if, by their hoſtile behaviour, he ſhould be obliged to adopt violent meaſures.

A. D. 1759.

da. Upon this hoſtilities commenced: and the artillery played ſo effectually, though a-croſs the river, that it entirely deſtroyed the lower town, and greatly damaged the upper town. And as ſoon as the works for the ſecurity of the hoſpitals and ſtores were finiſhed, on the Iſle of Orleans, which was the 9th of July, the army, that ſame night, encamped near the enemy's left, the river Montmorenci between them. From whence Captain Dank's company of rangers were detached to cover ſome workmen in a wood: who were attacked and defeated by a body of Indians, and were ſeverely handled, and he almoſt diſabled for the reſt of the campaign; though not without great loſs to the enemy; who were, in their turn, driven off by the neareſt troops.

The town attacked.

Several attempts to draw the French out of their ſtrong camp.

General Wolfe was fully convinced of the ſecurity in which Montcalm was ſituated; however, he was reſolved to try every way to come at him, or to draw him out of his ſtrong entrenchments. For this purpoſe the country was reconnoitred. The ground to the eaſtward of the falls was found higher than that on the enemy's ſide, ſo as to command it in a manner, which might be made uſeful. A ford was found below the Falls, paſſable for ſome hours at the end of the ebb and beginning of the flood-tide. Another ford was diſcovered about three miles up the river Montmorenci. All which gave hopes of finding means to fight the Marquis de Montcalm, upon terms of leſs diſadvantage, than directly attacking his trenches. But at this ford the oppoſite bank was

not

not only ſteep and woody, but it was ſo well intrenched, that it was to no purpoſe to attempt a paſſage there; and we loſt forty men killed and wounded, out of the eſcort employed to reconnoitre the river, in two rencounters with the Indians. A. D. 1759.

From hence the general turned his thoughts to the country above the town; and ordered two men of war, two ſloops and two tranſports, with troops on board, on the 18th of July, to ſail for the upper river: and they got paſt the city without any loſs [b]. But here alſo he found the ſame attention on the ſide of the enemy, and great difficulties for him to encounter, ariſing from the nature of the ground, and the obſtacles that were in the way to the communication with the fleet. Beſides, it was running too great a hazard to land the troops between the town and Cape Rouge; becauſe the corps firſt landed could not be reinforced before they were attacked by the enemy's whole army.

Notwithſtanding theſe difficulties the general once thought to attempt a landing at St. Michael's,

[b] The Diana ran aſhore upon the rocks off Point Levi, and received ſo much damage, that ſhe was ſent to Boſton with twenty-ſeven ſail of American tranſports (thoſe which received moſt damage in the gale of the 27th of June) to be diſcharged; and the Diana, having repaired her damage, to proceed to England, taking with her the maſt-ſhips, and what trade might be ready to accompany her.

On the 28th at midnight, the enemy ſent down a raft of fire ſtages, of near 100 radeaux, which ſucceeded no better than the fire-ſhips.

A. D. 1759. about three miles above the town: but perceiving that the enemy were jealous of his deſign, and were preparing againſt an attack, and had actually brought artillery and a mortar, (which by their proximity might be eaſily increaſed, as need required) to play upon the ſhipping: and as it muſt have been many hours before they could be attacked (even ſuppoſing a favourable night for the boats to paſs by the town unhurt) it ſeemed ſo hazardous, that he prudently declined the attempt. However, in order to divide the enemy's force, and to draw their attention as high up the river as poſſible, the general ſent a detachment, under the command of Colonel Carleton, to land at the Point of Trempe, to attack whatever oppoſed him, and to bring off ſome priſoners, and all the papers he could get; he being informed, that a number of the inhabitants of Quebec had retired to that place, and that it was probable to find a magazine of proviſions there.

The colonel landed, and was received on ſhore, that very moment, by a ſmart fire from a body of Indians. But they were ſoon diſperſed and driven into the woods. But he found no magazine: and returned with ſome priſoners and with little loſs.

Attempts of the French. In the mean time the French general endeavoured to erect a battery on the bank of the Montmorenci, to cannonade the Engliſh camp. But Brigadier Townſend, by a ſuperior fire, prevented its taking effect, and obliged them to deſiſt. Neither was their next attempt to burn the

fleet

fleet more effectual. This was a contrivance of seventeen fire-rafts, well supplied with gun and pistol barrels loaded, granadoes, and combustibles of all sorts, each of them 103 feet long, and slackly chained together, so that at the least interruption they might surround whatever opposed their passage. They came burning down with the current, and one would have thought the whole river in a flame, as they spread almost from shore to shore; but these were also grappled in like manner, and being towed clear off all the ships, consumed, with the loss only of one boat. General Wolfe finding so great an opposition, and that his manifesto and declaration to the commandant had no effect on the Canadians; he ordered all the habitations, barns, stables and corn on the lands, as soon as ripe, to be totally destroyed. The sides of the river began immediately to shew a most dismal appearance of fire and smoke; and (as the troops employed on this service were the remains of those who escaped the massacre by the French at Fort William Henry, where they killed and scalped every wounded officer and common man) they spared little or nothing that came in their way. A. D. 1759.

General Wolfe's attempt at Montmorenci.

General Wolfe returned from reconnoitring the country above the town, and seeing no other way to execute his orders against Quebec, resolved to take the first opportunity, which might present itself, of attacking the enemy; though posted to great advantage, and every where prepared to receive him. To forward this resolution, he, with the

A. D. 1759. the help of two tranſports, which drew but little water, and could, by the tide, be carried cloſe in ſhore, propoſed to make himſelf maſter of a detached redoubt, near to the water's edge, and whoſe ſituation appeared to be without muſket-ſhot of the entrenchment upon the hill, expecting, that, if the enemy ſhould ſupport this detached piece, it would neceſſarily bring on the much wiſhed for engagement: and if not, that he ſhould have it in his power to examine their ſituation, ſo as to be able to determine, where he could beſt attack them.

Preparations were accordingly made for an engagement, on the 31ſt of July. In the forenoon the boats were filled with grenadiers, and a part of Brigadier Monckton's brigade, from Point Levi. Townſhend and Murray were ordered to be in readineſs with their brigades, to paſs the Ford, when it ſhould be thought neceſſary. To facilitate the paſſage of this corps, the admiral placed the Centurion in the channel; ſo that ſhe might check the fire of the lower battery, which commanded the Ford: which was of great uſe, her fire being very judiciouſly directed. A great quantity of artillery was alſo placed upon the eminence, which battered and enfiladed the left of their intrenchments.

But the general on board the ſhip, that ran a-ground the neareſt in, obſerved that the redoubt was too much commanded to be kept without very great loſs; and the more, as the two-armed ſhips could not be brought near enough to cover both

both with their artillery and muſquetry, which he had at firſt conceived they might be able to do. However, as this motion had thrown the enemy into ſome confuſion, and his people were prepared for action, he thought it a proper time to make an attempt upon their intrenchment. In conſequence, orders were diſpatched for Brigadier Monckton's corps to be ready to land; and for Brigadier Townſend's and Murray's corps to paſs the ford. A. D. 1759.

The ſignal, to carry this into execution, was made at a proper time of tide. But a great deal of time being loſt, by many of the boats grounding upon a ledge, that runs off a conſiderable diſtance, which threw them into ſome diſorder, as they rowed towards the ſhore, the general ſent a particular meſſenger to ſtop Brigadier Townſend's march, who had put his corps already in motion. The enemy fired briſkly their ſhells and ſhot at the ſeamen, as they were getting the boats off: but did no conſiderable damage: and as ſoon as the diſorder was ſet a little to rights, and the boats were ranged in a proper manner, the general, accompanied by ſome of the naval officers, went in a flat-bottomed boat to make the experiment, and found a place, where he ordered the troops to diſembark. An accident.

The thirteen companies of grenadiers, and 200 of the ſecond royal American battalion got firſt on ſhore. The grenadiers were ordered to form themſelves into four diſtinct bodies, and to begin the attack, ſupported by Brigadier Monckton's corps,

A D. 1759. corps, as ſoon as thoſe troops had paſſed the ford, and were at hand to aſſiſt. But by ſome fatal accident the grenadiers, inſtead of forming themſelves, as had been directed, ran on impetuouſly towards the enemy's intrenchments, in the utmoſt diſorder and confuſion, without waiting for the corps, ordered to ſuſtain them, and join in the attack: for Brigadier Monckton was not landed; and Brigadier Townſend, though marching in very great order to join them, was ſtill at a conſiderable diſtance. The grenadiers, checked by the enemy's firſt fire, ſought for ſhelter in or about the redoubt, which the French abandoned upon their approach: and in this ſituation they continued for ſome time, unable to form under ſo hot a fire, and having many gallant officers wounded, who (careleſs of their perſons) had been ſolely intent upon their duty. Therefore the general, called them off, to form themſelves behind Brigadier Monckton's corps, which was now landed, and drawn up on the heath in extreme good order.

A ſecond accident.

The attack fails. This ſecond delay made it near night, and was followed by a ſudden ſtorm; beſides the tide began to make: ſo that the general thought it adviſable not to perſevere in ſo difficult an attack, leaſt, in caſe of a repulſe, the retreat of Brigadier Townſend's corps might be hazardous and uncertain. It was however obſerved, That our artillery had a great effect upon the enemy's left, where Brigadiers Townſend and Murray were to have attacked. And when the word of command

was given to retreat, the French did not attempt to interupt the march of our army [c]. A. D. 1759.

General Wolfe, in his own account of this deſcent and intended attack of the enemy's intrenchments, ſays, That the place, where the attack was intended, had theſe advantages above all others thereabout.—The artillery would be brought into uſe.—The greateſt part, or even the whole of the troops, might act at once: and---The retreat, in caſe of a repulſe, was ſecure; at leaſt for a certain time of the tide.——But he adds, the enemy were poſted upon a commanding eminence.---The beach, upon which his troops were drawn up was of deep mud, with holes, and cut by ſeveral gullies.---The hill to be aſcended was very ſteep, and not every where practicable.---The enemy were numerous in their intrenchments, and kept a hot fire.---So that if the attack had ſucceeded, the loſs of the Engliſh muſt certainly have been great, and of the French inconſiderable, from the ſhelter afforded them by the neighbouring woods. Beſides, the river St. Charles ſtill remained to be paſſed before the town could be inveſted. Yet, upon comparing theſe difficulties and obſtacles with the advantages, the general's zeal and deſire to act in conformity to the King's intentions, induced him to make this trial, perſuaded that a victorious army finds no difficulties. Reaſons for this attempt.

[c] To prevent the two tranſports, which had been run in ſhore, from falling into the hands of the enemy, they being then dry on ſhore, the admiral took the men out, and ſet them on fire.

The

A. D. 1759.

Loſs.

The loſs on this occaſion was ſo conſiderable, and the enemy continued to fortify every place with great care, that the general was inclined to wait the arrival of the forces under General Amherſt, before he made any more attempts againſt an enemy that was ſo ſtrongly and advantageouſly intrenched. In the mean time, it was thought adviſeable to penetrate as far as poſſible up the river, in order to open a communication with that General in his march from Crown Point. Brigadier Murray embarked with 1200 men on board of a ſquadron of men of war under Rear Admiral Holmes, with orders to deſtroy the French men of war above the town, if to be come at; and for the troops, where practicable, to land, to ſcour the ſhore, and to ſeek every favourable opportunity of fighting ſome of the enemy's detachments. The ſhips ſailed up the river, more than 12 leagues. Brigadier Murray made two attempts without ſucceſs to land on the north ſhore. But making a third eſſay, he landed unexpectedly at the Chambaud, and burnt a magazine of proviſions, ammunition, and all the ſpare ſtores, cloathing, arms and baggage of the French army, and made ſome priſoners, who informed him of the ſucceſs of the Britiſh arms againſt Niagara and Crown Point. But as it was in vain to wait for General Amherſt, who had ſo many obſtacles[d] in the way, and the ſeaſon too far advanced for ſo

Attempt above the town.

[d] To croſs Lake Champlain, and to fight M. de Bourlemaque's corps of 3000 regulars, French and Canadians.

long

long and hazardous a march: and deſpairing of means either to burn the ſhips or to bring the enemy to battle; the general recalled this detachment. A. D. 1759.

At their return they found General Wolfe violently ill of a fever, brought on him by care, watching, fatigue, and we may add deſpondency. He had contrived, he had attempted, he had executed every thing to enſure ſucceſs: he had faced every danger in perſon, and braved every fatigue and difficulty: but was afraid that he muſt be obliged to return without victory and conqueſt. This thought was more terrible to him than death, and converted diſappointment into diſeaſe. It was in this feeble ſtate we find him alſo, when he wrote that elegant and truly military letter of his endeavours, and not without tokens of deſpair, to complete the inſtructions he had received from his Majeſty. Even under this oppreſſion, his duty, and the glory of his country kept the chief poſſeſſion of his heart. He begged of the general officers to conſult together for the public utility; and confirmed their opinion that four or 5000 men conveyed above the town, might be able to draw the enemy from their preſent ſituation and to bring them to an engagement. But previous to this plan, he and the Admiral examined the town, with a view to a general aſſault. However, after viewing it with the utmoſt attention, and conſulting with the chief engineer, who was well acquainted with the interior parts thereof, it was found, that though the batteries of the lower town might be

General Wolfe's bad ſtate of health and reſolution.

A. D. 1759. eaſily ſilenced by the men of war; yet the buſineſs of an aſſault would be little advanced by that; ſince the few paſſages, that lead from the lower to the upper town were carefully intrenched; and the upper batteries could not be affected by the ſhips, which would lie expoſed to them and their mortars. Therefore this deſign was dropt, as of too dangerous a nature and promiſing ſo little ſucceſs [e].

The ſtrong detachment for another expedition above the town, by water, ſo weakened the army,

[e] —The affairs of Great-Britain, I know, require the moſt vigorous meaſures; but then the courage of a handful of brave men ſhould be exerted, only where there is ſome hope of a favourable event. However, you may be aſſured, Sir, that the ſmall part of the campaign which remains, ſhall be employed (as far as I am able) for the honour of his Majeſty and the intereſt of the nation, in which I am ſure of being well ſeconded by the admiral and by the generals. Happy if our efforts here can contribute to the ſucceſs of his Majeſty's arms in any other parts of America. I have the honour to be, with the greateſt reſpect, Sir,

Your moſt obedient,
And moſt humble ſervant,
JAMES WOLFE.

—The enemy appear numerous, and ſeem to be ſtrongly poſted; but let the event be what it will, we ſhall remain here as long as the ſeaſon of the year will permit, in order to prevent their detaching troops from hence againſt General Amherſt; and I ſhall leave cruiſers at the mouth of the river to cut off any ſupplies that may be ſent them, with ſtrict orders to keep that ſtation as long as poſſible. The town of Quebec is not habitable, being almoſt intirely burnt and deſtroyed. Extract from Sir Charles Saunders's letter, Sept. 5, 1759.

that

that made it neceſſary to draw off all the ſtores, baggage, artillery, &c. from our camp at Montmorenci, and to encamp the troops conveyed from thence at Point Levi. This motion up the river did not anſwer ſo effectually, as to induce Montcalm to quit his poſt; but they attracted his attention ſo much, as to engage him to detach 1500 men, under M. de Bougainville, along the weſtern ſhore of the river, to watch the motions of the Engliſh on the eaſtern bank. A. D. 1759.

In this diſpoſition was the enemy, when the general once more reſolved to try the fate of his arms above the town: and having ſecured his poſts at Point Levi, and the Iſle of Orleans, he marched with the remainder of the forces from Point Levi, the 5th and 6th, and embarked them in tranſports, which had paſſed the town for that purpoſe. On the 7th, 8th, and 9th, a movement of the ſhips was made upwards by Admiral Holmes, in order to amuſe the enemy now poſted along the north ſhore: but the tranſports being extremely crowded, and the weather very bad, the general thought proper to canton half his troops on the ſouth ſhore, where they were refreſhed, and reimbarked upon the 12th at one in the morning. The light infantry, commanded by Colonel Howe, the regiments of Bragg, Kennedy, Laſcelles, and Anſtruther, with a detachment of Highlanders, and the American grenadiers, the whole being under the command of Brigadiers Monckton and Murray, were put into the flat-bottomed boats, and after ſome movement of the ſhips, made by Admiral

Provoke Montcalm to quit his camp.

A. D. 1759. miral Holmes, to draw the attention of the enemy above, the boats fell down with the tide, unobſerved by the enemy, and landed on the north ſhore, within a league of Cape Diamond, an hour before day break. The rapidity of the tide of ebb carried them a little below the intended place of attack; but they were very fortunate in having the ſhips arrive at that critical moment, to cover them, in danger of loſing their communication in a dark night, and on a rapid current. Beſides, this not being the place intended, it obliged the light infantry to ſcramble up a woody precipice [f], in order to ſecure the landing of the troops by diſlodging a captain's poſt, which defended a narrow intrenched path, where the troops were to aſcend two a-breaſt. After a little firing, the light infantry gained the top of the precipice, and diſperſed the

[f] Admiral Saunders relates this fact with ſome addition, as follows: The night of their landing, Admiral Holmes, with the ſhips and troops, was about three leagues above the intended landing place: General Wolfe, with about half his troops, ſet off in boats, and dropped down with the tide, and were by that means, leſs liable to be diſcovered by the French centinels poſted along the coaſt. The ſhips followed them about three quarters of an hour afterwards, and got to the landing place juſt in the time, that had been concerted, to cover their landing; and conſidering the darkneſs of the night, and the rapidity of the current, this was a very critical operation, and very properly and ſucceſsfully conducted. When General Wolfe, and the troops with him, had landed, the difficulty of gaining the top of the hill is ſcarce credible: It was very ſteep in its aſcent, and high, and had no path where two could go a-breaſt; but they were obliged to pull themſelves up by the ſtumps and boughs of trees, that covered the declivity.

captain's

captain's poſt. Thus the troops, with a very little loſs from a few Canadians and Indians in the wood, got up, and were immediately formed. The boats, as they emptied, were ſent back for the ſecond embarkation, which Brigadier Townſend immediately made. Brigadier Murray, who had been detached with Anſtruther's battalion to attack a four gun battery on the left, was recalled by the general, who now ſaw the French army croſſing the river St. Charles. General Wolfe thereupon began to form his line, having his right covered by the Louiſbourg grenadiers; on the right of theſe again he afterwards brought Otway's; to the left of the grenadiers were Bragg's, Kennedy's, Laſcelles's Highlanders, and Anſtruther's; the right of this body was commanded by Brigadier Monckton, and the left by Brigadier Murray; his rear and left were protected by Colonel Howe's light infantry, who were returned from the four gun battery before-mentioned, which was ſoon abandoned to him. A. D. 1759.

General Montcalm, having collected the whole of his force from the Beauport ſide, and advancing[g], ſhewed his intention to flank our left. Brigadier Battle of Quebec.

[g] *The French line.*

Right. La Colonie 350, La Sarre 340, one 12 pounder iron, Languedoc 320. — Column, Bearne 200, La Guienne 200.—Left, Royal Ruſſillon 230, one 12 pounder intended to be here, but not placed, La Colonie 300. — Militia in the buſhes, and along the face of the bank 1500.

Principal Officers.

Marquis de Montcalm, Brigadier Senezerques, M. Beau Chatel, Major de la Sarre.

A. D. 1759. gadier Townſend was immediately ordered with General Amherſt's battalion, (which he formed *en potence*. His numbers were ſoon after increaſed by the arrival of two battalions of Royal Americans; and Webb's was drawn up by the general,) as a reſerve, in eight ſubdiviſions, with large intervals. The enemy lined the buſhes in their front with 1500 Indians and Canadians, amongſt whom were moſt of their beſt markſmen, who kept up a very galling, though irregular fire upon our whole line: who bore it with the greateſt patience and good order, reſerving their fire for the main body now advancing. The fire of the enemy was, however, checked by our poſts in front, which protected the forming our own line. The right of the enemy was compoſed of half of the troops of the colony, the battalions of La Sarre, Languedoc, and the remainder of the Canadians and Indians. Their center was a column, and formed by the battalions of Bearne and Guienne. Their left was compoſed of the remainder of the troops of the colony, and the battalion of Royal Rouſillon. They brought up two pieces of ſmall artillery: we had been able to bring up but one gun; but it was admirably well ſerved, and galled their column exceedingly. Our troops, by the general's order, reſerved their fire, till within forty yards; which was ſo well continued, that the enemy every where gave way.

Monſieur Bougainville's command.

Five companies of grenadiers, 150 Canadian volunteers, 230 cavalry, militia 870, the whole being 1500.

When

When fortune began thus to declare herſelf in favour of Britiſh valour, General Wolfe met with his death wound [h]; as the Louiſbourg grenadiers advanced

A. D. 1759. Death of General Wolfe.

[h] General Wolfe ſeemed by nature formed for military greatneſs; his memory was retentive, his judgment deep, and his comprehenſion amazingly quick and clear: his conſtitutional courage was not only uniform, and daring, perhaps to an extreme, but he poſſeſſed that higher ſpecies of it, (if I may be allowed the expreſſion) that ſtrength, ſteadineſs, and activity of mind, which no difficulties could obſtruct, nor dangers deter. With an unuſual livelineſs, almoſt to impetuoſity of temper, he was not ſubject to paſſion: with the greateſt independence of ſpirit, free from pride. Generous, almoſt to profuſion: he contemned every little art for the acquiſition of wealth, whilſt he ſearched after objects for his charity and beneficence: the deſerving ſoldier never went unrewarded, and even the needy inferior officer frequently taſted of his bounty. Conſtant and diſtinguiſhing in his attachments: manly and unreſerved, yet gentle, kind, and conciliating in his manners. He enjoyed a large ſhare of the friendſhip, and almoſt the univerſal good-will of mankind; and, to crown all, ſincerity and candour, a true ſenſe of honour, juſtice, and public liberty ſeemed the inherent principles of his nature, and the uniform rules of his conduct.

He betook himſelf, when very young, to the profeſſion of arms; and, with ſuch talents, joined to the moſt unwearied aſſiduity, no wonder he was ſoon ſingled out as a moſt riſing military genius. Even ſo early as the battle of La-feldt, when ſcarce 20 years of age, he exerted himſelf in ſo maſterly a manner, at a very critical juncture, that it drew the higheſt encomiums from the great officer then at the head of our army.

During the whole war he went on, without interruption, forming the military character; was preſent at every engagement, and never paſſed undiſtinguiſhed. Even after the peace, whilſt others lolled on pleaſure's downy lap, he was cultivat-

A. D. 1759. advanced with their bayonets, and drove the enemy before them with inexpreſſible vigour and reſolution. But this was not the only check, had it been poſſible to damp the impetuoſity of our

ing the arts of war. He introduced (without one act of inhumanity) ſuch regularity and exactneſs of diſcipline into his corps, that, as long as the ſix Britiſh battalions on the plains of Minden are recorded in the annals of Europe, ſo long will Kingſley's ſtand amongſt the foremoſt in the glory of that day.

Of that regiment he continued Lieutenant-Colonel, till the great miniſter, who rouzed the ſleeping genius of his country, called him forth into higher ſpheres of action. He was early in the moſt ſecret conſultations for the attack of Rochfort; and what he *would* have done there, and what he afterwards *did do* at Louiſbourg, are freſh in every one's memory.

He was ſcarce returned from thence, when he was appointed to command the important expedition againſt Quebec. There his abilities ſhone out in their brighteſt luſtre. In ſpite of many unforeſeen difficulties, from the nature of the ſituation, from great ſuperiority of numbers, the ſtrength of the place itſelf, and his own bad ſtate of health, he perſevered, with unwearied diligence, practiſing every ſtratagem of war to effect his purpoſe: At laſt, *ſingly and alone in opinion*, he formed, and executed, that great, that dangerous, yet neceſſary plan, which drew out the French to their defeat, and will for ever denominate him *The Conqueror of Canada*. But there—tears will flow—there, when within the graſp of victory, he firſt received a ball through his wriſt, which immediately wrapping up, he went on, with the ſame alacrity, animating his troops by precept and example: But, in a few minutes after, a ſecond ball, through his body, an inch below the naval; and a third ſhot juſt above his right breaſt, obliged him to be carried off to a ſmall diſtance in the rear, where, rouzed from fainting in the laſt agonies by the ſound of *they run*, he eagerly aſked, "Who run?" and being told, the French, and that they were defeated, he ſaid, "Then I thank God; I die contented;" and almoſt inſtantly expired.

troops:

troops: for in a few minutes Brigadier-General Monckton dropt alſo by a muſket ball, at the head of Laſcelles's grenadiers, emulating the courage of his predeceſſor in command. The enemy, who exerted themſelves at this inſtant with more than common ardour, ſuffered an equal loſs in the death of their general, the Marquis of Montcalm, who fell in the front of the oppoſite battalions. His ſecond likewiſe received a wound, of which he afterwards died, on board of the Engliſh fleet.

A. D. 1759.

General Monckton wounded.

Montcalm killed.

It was at this moment that each corps formed in a manner to exert itſelf, with a view to its own peculiar character. The grenadiers, Bragg's, and Laſcelles's, preſſed on with their bayonets. Brigadier Murray, advancing with the troops under his command briſkly, compleated the rout on this ſide; when the Highlanders, ſupported by Anſtruther's, took to their broad ſwords, and drove part into the town, part to the works at their bridge on the river St. Charles.

The French fly into the town.

The action on our left and rear was not ſo ſevere. The houſes, into which the light infantry were thrown, were well defended, being ſupported by Colonel Howe, who taking poſt with two companies behind a ſmall copſe, and frequently ſallying upon the flanks of the enemy during their attack, drove them often into heaps, againſt the front of which body Brigadier Townſend advanced platoons of Amherſt's regiment, which totally prevented the right wing from executing their firſt intention. Before this, one of the

A. D. 1759. Royal American battalions had been detached to preſerve a communication with the boats, and the other was ſent to occupy the ground, which Brigadier Murray's movement had left open. Brigadier Townſend remained with Amherſt's to ſupport this diſpoſition, and to keep the enemy's right, and a body of their ſavages, which waited ſtill more towards our rear, oppoſite the poſts of our light infantry, waiting for an opportunity to fall upon them.

Brigadier Townſend takes the command. This was the ſituation of things, when Brigadier Townſend was told, in the action, that the command was devolved upon him. He immediately repaired to the center, and finding the purſuit had put part of the troops in diſorder, he formed them as ſoon as poſſible. Scarce was this effected, when M. de Bougainville, with his corps from Cape Rouge, of 2000 men, appeared in our rear.

French army totally routed. The General advanced two pieces of artillery and two battalions towards him; upon which he retired. But could not be purſued without riſking the fate of ſo deciſive a day, by ſeeking a freſh enemy, poſted perhaps in the very kind of ground he could wiſh for, viz. woods and ſwamps. A great number of French officers were taken upon the field of battle, and one piece of cannon.

Their loſs. Their loſs is computed to be about 1500 men, which fell chiefly upon their regulars.

General Townſend's good conduct. General Townſend immediately provided for the ſafety of his troops. The enemy was defeated in the field: but their numbers and ſituation were ſufficient to put him upon every method in his

his power to ſtrengthen his camp beyond inſult. Having done this; he prepared for a general aſſault of the town. He made a road for his cannon up the precipice, and got up ſome of his artillery: he began to erect batteries, and made ſuch diſpoſitions, as might cut off the enemy's communication with the country. But before any battery could be compleated, the admiral having alſo brought his large ſhips into a poſition to attack the town, the governor, on the 17th, at noon, diſpatched a flag of truce with propoſals of capitulation. Which[1] the general ſent back again, allowing

A. D. 1759.

Prepares for a general aſſault of Quebec.

The governor capitulates.

[1] *Articles of capitulation demanded by M. de Ramſey, Commander for his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty in the Higher and Lower Town of Quebec, Knight of the military order of St. Louis, from his Excellency the General commanding his Britannic Majeſty's forces.*

Art. I. M. de Ramſey demands the honours of war for his garriſon, and that it ſhall be conducted back to the army in ſafety by the ſhorteſt road, with their arms, baggage, ſix pieces of braſs cannon, two mortars or howitzers, and twelve rounds.——*The garriſon of the town, compoſed of land forces, marines, and ſailors, ſhall march out with their arms and baggage, drums beating, lighted matches, with two pieces of cannon, and twelve rounds, and ſhall be embarked as conveniently as poſſible, in order to be landed at the firſt port in France.*

Art. II. That the inhabitants ſhall be maintained in the poſſeſſion of their houſes, goods, effects, and privileges.——*Granted, provided they lay down their arms.*

Art. III. That the ſaid inhabitants ſhall not be moleſted on account of their having borne arms for the defence of the town, as they were forced to it, and as it is cuſtomary for the inhabitants of the colonies of both crowns to ſerve as militia.——*Granted.*

Art.

A. D. 1759. allowing the enemy four hours to capitulate, or no further treaty. The terms were more advantageous

Art. IV. That the effects belonging to the abſent officers or inhabitants, ſhall not be touched.——*Granted.*

Art. V. That the ſaid inhabitants ſhall not be removed, nor obliged to quit their houſes, until their condition ſhall be ſettled by a definitive treaty between their Moſt Chriſtian and Britannic Majeſties.——*Granted.*

Art. VI. That the exerciſe of the catholic and Roman religion ſhall be preſerved, and that ſafe-guards ſhall be granted to the houſes of the clergy, and to the monaſteries, particularly to the biſhop of Quebec, who, animated with zeal for religion, and charity for the people of his dioceſe, deſires to reſide conſtantly in it, to exerciſe freely and with that decency, which his character and the ſacred myſteries of the catholic, apoſtolic, and Roman religion require, his epiſcopal authority in the town of Quebec, wherever he ſhall think it proper, until the poſſeſſion of Canada ſhall have been decided by a treaty between their Moſt Chriſtian and Britannic Majeſties.——*The free exerciſe of the Roman religion. Safe-guards granted to all religious perſons, as well as to the biſhop, who ſhall be at liberty to come and exerciſe freely and with decency the functions of his office wherever he ſhall think proper, until the poſſeſſion of Canada ſhall have been decided between their Britannic and Moſt Chriſtian Majeſties.*

Art. VII. That the artillery and warlike ſtores ſhall be delivered up *bona fide*, and an inventory taken thereof.—*Granted.*

Art. VIII. That the ſick, wounded, commiſſaries, chaplains, phyſicians, ſurgeons, apothecaries, and other perſons employed in the hoſpitals, ſhall be treated agreeable to the cartel ſettled between their Moſt Chriſtian and Britannic Majeſties, on the 6th of February, 1759.——*Granted.*

Art. IX. That, before delivering up the gate, and entrance of the town, to the Engliſh forces, their general will be pleaſed to ſend ſome ſoldiers to be placed as ſafe-guards at the churches, convents, and chief habitations.——*Granted.*

Art.

ous to the enemy than they had reaſon to expect. A. D. 1759.
But the circumſtances of the Engliſh obliged them to more moderation than they deſerved. The enemy were collecting all their forces in our rear [k]: and

Art. X. That the commander of the city of Quebec ſhall be permitted to ſend advice to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, governor general, of the reduction of the town, as alſo that this general ſhall be allowed to write to the French miniſtry, to inform them thereof.——*Granted.*

Art. XI. That the preſent capitulation ſhall be executed according to its form and tenour, without being liable to non-execution under pretence of reprifals, or the non-execution of any preceding capitulation.——*Granted.*

The preſent treaty has been made and ſettled between us, and duplicates ſigned at the camp before Quebec, the 18th of September, 1759.

CHARLES SAUNDERS,
GEORGE TOWNSEND,
DE RAMSEY.

[k] —By deſerters we learn, that the enemy are re-aſſembling what troops they can, behind the Cape Rouge; that M. de Levy is come down from the Montreal ſide to command them; ſome ſay he has brought two battalions with him; if ſo, this blow has already aſſiſted General Amherſt. By other deſerters we learn, that M. de Bougainville, with 800 men, and proviſions, was on his march to fling himſelf into the town the 18th, the very morning it capitulated, on which day we had not compleated the inveſtiture of the place, as they had broke their bridge of boats, and had detachments in very ſtrong works on the other ſide the river St. Charles.

I ſhould not do juſtice to the admirals, and the naval ſervice, if I neglected this occaſion of acknowledging how much we are indebted for our ſucceſs to the conſtant aſſiſtance and ſupport received from them, and the perfect harmony and correſpondence

A. D. 1759. and the very wet and cold ſeaſon, which advanced apace, threatened the troops with ſickneſs, and the fleet with ſome accident. The roads were already ſo bad, that a gun could not be brought up without much difficulty and loſs of time. Whereas all or moſt of theſe diſadvantages would be removed, by the poſſeſſion of a town with walls in a defenſible ſtate, and in a garriſon ſtrong enough to prevent a ſurprize.

Quebec garriſoned by Engliſh. Quebec ſurrendered by capitulation, was immediately garriſoned by 5000 Engliſh troops, and committed to the care of Brigadier General Murray; with proviſions and ammunition for the winter: the fleet being obliged to ſail for England as ſoon as poſſible, leaſt they ſhould be frozen up for the winter.

Loſs on both ſides. Dangerous as this ſervice really was; and the difficulties, both of art and nature, which were to be ſurmounted in the conqueſt of Quebec, our loſs did not exceed 648 [1] in killed, wounded and miſſing,

reſpondence which has prevailed throughout all our operations, in the uncommon difficulties, which the nature of this country, in particular, preſents to military operations of a great extent, and which no army can itſelf ſolely ſupply; the immenſe labour in artillery, ſtores, and proviſions; the long watchings and attendance in boats; the drawing up our artillery by the ſeamen, even in the heat of action; it is my duty, ſhort as my command has been, to acknowledge, for that time, how great a ſhare the navy has had in this ſucceſsful campaign.

To Mr. PITT, I have the honour to be, &c.

Sept. 20, 1759. GEO. TOWNSEND.

[1] Total *killed*. 1 general, 1 captain, 6 lieutenants, 1 enſign, 3 ſerjeants, 45 rank and file. *Wounded*. 1 brigadier general,

ſing, in this battle before the town: whereas the French loſt upwards of 1500 men on the field of battle, beſides the guns, mortars, ammunition, arms, &c. found in Quebec on the 18th of September, and priſoners [m]. A. D. 1759.

" It

neral, 4 ſtaff officers, 12 captains, 26 lieutenants, 10 enſigns, 25 ſerjeants, 4 drummers, 506 rank and file. *Miſſing.* 3 rank and file.

Royal train of artillery. Lieutenant Benzell, engineer, wounded. 1 gunner, killed. 1 bombardier, 1 gunner, 5 matroſſes wounded.

[m] Braſs ordnance, ſix pounders 1, four ditto 3, two ditto 2. —Iron ordnance, thirty-ſix pounders 10, twenty-four ditto 45, eighteen ditto 18, twelve ditto 13, eight ditto 43, ſix ditto 66, four ditto 30, three ditto 7, two ditto 3.—Braſs mortars, thirteen inches 1.—Ditto howitzers eight inches 3.—Iron mortars, thirteen inches 9, ten ditto 1, eight ditto 3, ſeven ditto 2.—Braſs petards 2.—Shells, thirteen inches 770, ten ditto 150, eight ditto 90, ſix ditto 90, with a conſiderable quantity of powder, ball, ſmall arms, and intrenching tools, &c.

An account given on the 18th of September, 1759, of the artillery and ſtores found between the river St. Charles and Beauport.

Redoubt on the head of the bridge three guns, Royal battery four ditto, La Rouſette battery three ditto, St. Charles's battery three ditto, balls and grape no number taken.——Le Prêtre battery, two guns, ſome tools and four cannon, Bomb battery, one mortar and two ſhells, Parens battery three guns, La Chaiſe battery three guns, balls, and grape. Floating batteries twelve guns and balls, Beauport battery four guns and grape.—Thirty-ſeven guns one mortar.

Liſt of French officers priſoners.

M. de Jourdenau, Chevalier de St. Louis, captain of De Bearne regiment. M. De Matiſſar, captain of de Languedoc regiment. M. de Vours, captain of La Sarre's regiment, M. de Tozon, lieutenant of Guienne regiment. M. de Caſtes, lieute-

A. D. 1759.

To whom this conqueſt is to be attributed.

"It is particularly worthy obſervation, ſays a "late writer, That the conqueſt of Canada was "owing to the ſingular ardour and intrepidity of "General Wolfe: it was he, and *he only*, which "formed the deſperate reſolution of landing "and climbing the heights of Abraham. This "brought on the battle: and thus was Quebec "conquered. Had a commander of ordinary ca- "pacity been employed in this enterprize (ſuch "as Britain had frequently ſeen entrenching them- "ſelves in excuſes and punctilios) he would have "been ſtaggered by the difficulties; diſcouraged by "the repulſe at Montmorenci, and judged the "landing impracticable. Thus would the great "ſcheme have been defeated, a whole ſeaſon loſt, "and the national treaſure thrown away in equip- "ping a fruitleſs, and, what the enemies of the "miniſter would have repreſented as an impracti- "cable expedition."

French precautions to defeat General Amherſt, &c.

While theſe great things were acting before Quebec, General Amherſt was performing his part in the operations of this campaign in North America. The French alſo, who penetrated into the deſigns of our grand preparations againſt

lieutenant of Languedoc regiment. M. Lambany, lieutenant of La Sarre's regiment, priſoners 144, 204.

Marines.

M. de la Combiere, Chevalier de St. Louis, captain. M. Montaville, lieutenant. M. de Carville, cadet. M. Darling, Chevalier de St. Louis, captain of Guienne regiment. M. Chambeau, captain of Guienne regiment. M. Dartigue, captain of Guienne regiment. M. de Grave, captain of Guienne regiment. M. St. Blainbair, captain of Rouſſillon regiment; one hundred and eighty-nine ſoldiers.

them

them in North America, rightly inferred, from the ſmall military force embarked on board the fleet deſtined againſt Quebec, that the ſucceſs of the Britiſh arms was reſted upon the junction of thoſe forces with the more numerous troops under the command of General Amherſt and General Prideaux. Therefore they had provided an army not only under Montcalm, to keep the field about Quebec, to diſpute the landing of our men, under the command of General Wolfe, but another conſiderable body of troops was ſtationed to cover Montreal: a ſtrong garriſon was put into Niagara; M. de Levi was charged with a flying corps, to ſcour the country, and to harraſs our armies in their march through the woods; that officer being perfectly acquainted with all the paſſes and the almoſt impaſſable wilderneſſes. Crown Point was reinforced: their ſtrength was augmented on Lake Champlain, of which the French were entire maſters: and they ſtationed a reſpectable body of regulars, as well as Canadians in Fort Chambly, to maintain the paſs from the fall on the river Richelieu to the river St. Lawrence. A. D. 1759.

According to the plan laid down in England, for the reduction of Quebec and Montreal, and therewith all Canada, the generals on the continent ſhould have begun their operations very early; ſo as to time their propoſed junction with the fleet in due ſeaſon, to execute the grand project before the rigour of the winter came on. For this purpoſe we find him in motion, with ſome of his troops, as early as the firſt of May. General Amherſt how retarded.

He

A. D. 1759. He himſelf arrived at Albany on the 12th, and ſet out for Fort Edward on the third of June; the regular regiments being poſted on the road to bring up the proviſions in the battoes. And all precautions were uſed to prevent a ſurprize. But, not to mention the difficulty of bringing up the battoes, &c. for tranſporting the army, ſuch was the behaviour of ſome individuals in that part of the world, without whoſe concurrence or countenance there was no way to expedite the march of our armies in North America, that by their pride, obſtinacy and inſolence General Amherſt's progreſs was greatly obſtructed. The impediments he met with, from thoſe, who delighted in oppoſing and delaying, what they could not prevent, for the ſervice of their country, protracted the time till the ſummer was far advanced [n], before he could get his forces acroſs Lake George [o]. They landed on the 21ſt of July, and reached the field, where their countrymen had fallen with ſo great a ſlaughter, and were obliged to retreat, before Ticonderoga, in the preceding year: but which, hitherto impregnable poſt, the enemy judging from the precaution and wiſe diſpoſitions, and

He arrives at the ſeat of action.

[n] They arrived at Fort Edward on the 12th of June, and it was the 21ſt before they ſailed from thence, and the end of the month before they reached Lake George.

[o] Otherwiſe Lake Sacrament, 40 miles in length, and narrow in proportion. It runs through a marſh into Lake Champlain, with which it communicates by a long and very narrow ſtraight, defended on each ſide by a fort; one towards Lake George, called Ticonderoga; the other next Lake Champlain, called Fort Frederick, or Crown Point.

bold





S^r JEFFERY AMHERST.

bold advances into their lines, with bayonets fixed, made by the approaching beſiegers, that it would be impoſſible for them to maintain their poſt; and that their retreat from place to place, within the center of the operations to cover Quebec, would do effectual ſervice, and be much more eligible, than to riſk the hazard of being made priſoners of war, they did all, that time would permit, to diſmantle their fortifications, and then retreated to Crown Point [p].

A. D. 1759. Ticonderoga deſerted.

This acquiſition without a blow (and no other loſs than Colonel Townſend, an officer of a promiſing genius, who was killed by a cannon ball from the fort) put General Amherſt into poſſeſſion of a poſt, that effectually covered the frontiers of New York, and afforded him a ſafe retreat in caſe of neceſſity. For which reaſon his Excellency ordered the fortifications to be immediately reſtored [q], and allotted a ſtrong garriſon to protect

The importance of this poſt.

[p] On the 26th of July, 1759.

[q] *Extract of General Amherſt's Letter to the Right Honourable* WILLIAM PITT, *Eſq;*

—On the 31ſt of July, I ordered the fort by the water-ſide to be put in good order, and to be compleated, as the enemy had not finiſhed it: ordered the fort of Ticonderoga to be repaired upon the ſame plan as the enemy had built it, which will ſave great time and expences, as it is but a ſmall part of the whole that is ruined: the coſt the enemy has been at in building the fort and houſes is very great. The glacis and covered way quite good: the counterſcarp of the glacis, maſonry: the counterſcarp of the ditch, maſonry. Two ravelins of maſonry, that cover the only front to which approaches can be carried on. The fort a ſquare, with four baſtions, built with logs on the rocks, which are covered with ſome maſonry

A. D. 1759. Fort repaired, &c.

protect it, after his departure. During his ſtay at Ticonderoga, he levelled the trenches and batteries, and filled up the road he had made from Lake Champlain to the Saw-mill river, for carrying on the ſiege, repaired the works of the fort, ſent 500 men to Fort George for proviſions, &c. and not only ordered brig-boats, built by his direction, to be finiſhed with all expedition; but the French boats, which they ſunk before they retreated, to be fiſhed up, that he might have a ſuperior force of ſloops to the enemy on the lake. He forwarded every thing as faſt as poſſible, that he might get poſſeſſion of Crown Point without loſs of time.

While the general was thus neceſſarily employed, he continually detached ſcouting parties to reconnoitre, and to look from the mountains into Crown Point itſelf, and to watch the motions of a corps of the enemy, which encamped on the eaſtern part of the lake.—Whether diffident of their own ſtrength, or directed to withdraw from their ſtronghold, by order from M. Montcalm,

Crown Point deſerted.

maſonry to level the foundation. The wood part of it is the worſt finiſhed. One baſtion, and a part of two courtins, demoliſhed, but not in the front that can be eaſieſt attacked. The caſemates are good; the walls of the burnt barracks are not damaged. Eleven good ovens have helped us greatly. As the ſituation of the fort is very advantageous for the protection of his Majeſty's dominions, and the approaches may be rendered as difficult to the enemy, as they have been to the King's troops, and that there is no fault in it, but its being ſmall, I have thought proper to have it repaired, which I hope will meet with your approbation.

which,

which, in caſe of a ſiege, he was in no condition to relieve; and his preſent circumſtances required all his collective ſtrength in the field; the ſcouts, on the firſt of Auguſt, brought an account, that the enemy had abandoned Crown Point alſo [r]. The weather was ſo bad that made it impracticable to move with his whole army till the fourth. But his Excellency diſpatched 200 rangers through the woods, to ſeize the poſſeſſion of ſo eaſy a conqueſt: and his ſcouting parties, which were directed to hover about the fugitive enemy, to watch their motions, and to pick up ſtragglers, brought in a deſerter from the late Forbes's, one whom General Amherſt had pardoned for deſertion, when he was at Fort George, but now thought it neceſſary, for immediate example, to hang him directly. On the fourth, weather permitting, and the boats being brought over the carrying-place, the troops began to embark at two in the morning, and were all [s] got over the lake, landed and poſted before night; ſome be-

A. D. 1759.

A deſerter hanged.

[r] Before he evacuated the fort the governor ordered all the mortars, cannon, muſquets, &c. to be charged up to the very muzzles with powder and ſhot, fixing port-fuſees to their vents, and then ſet fire to the fort, which made it impoſſible to approach it, without imminent danger. However a ſerjeant of the regulars having obtained permiſſion to cut down the colours, which were ſtill flying, he ventured into the fort and brought them off ſafe, and was rewarded with ten guineas.

[s] Except the ſecond battalion of the royal Highland regiment, which he, on the firſt of Auguſt, detached under Brigadier General Graham for Oſwego, to ſupport the ſiege of Niagara, if wanted.

A. D. 1759.

ing encamped, and others laid on their arms. Next day the general, conſidering the importance of this ſituation, which entirely ſecured all his Majeſty's dominions behind it, from the inroads of the enemy, and from the ſcalping parties, that had infeſted the whole country, and that it would give great peace and quiet to all the ſettlers from thence to New York to have a reſpectable fort built on that ſpot; he immediately ordered the ground to be traced out, and the fort to be begun with all poſſible expedition [t].

Importance of the conqueſt.

General Amherſt purſues the enemy over the lake.

Here General Amherſt received intelligence, That the flying enemy had retired to the Iſle Aux Noix, ſtanding at the other end of Lake Champlain, at about five leagues from St. John's: that their numbers were augmented, by other parties called in, to three thouſand five hundred effective men, regulars, marines and Canadians, encamped under the command of M. de Burlemaque, and

Strength of the enemy.

[t] *Return of ordnance and ſtores taken at Ticonderoga and Crown Point.*

Iron ordnance, 18 pounders 2, 16 ditto 1, 12 ditto 7, 9 ditto 4, 6 ditto 4, 4 ditto 2, ſwivels 7.—Iron mortars, 13 inches 2, 6½ ditto 1.—Iron howitzer, 8 inches 1.—Iron patteraroes, mounted on ſwivels without chambers, 8.—Round ſhot looſe, 24 pounders 35, 18 ditto 327, 12 ditto 196, 9 ditto 140, 6 ditto 425, 4 ditto 463, 1½ ditto 12.—Grape ſhot looſe, 18 pounders 4, 9 ditto 8, 6 ditto 2, 4 ditto 5.—Ladles with ſtaves, 18 pounders 2, 12 ditto 2, 6 ditto 1, 4 ditto 2.—Spunges with rammer heads, 18 pounders 9, 12 ditto 2, 6 ditto 2, 4 ditto 2.—Rammers ſpare, 4 pounders 1.—Wadhooks with rammers, 18 pounders 1, 12 ditto 1, 6 ditto 1, 4 ditto 1.—Shells, 13 inches 27, 10 ditto 3, 8 ditto 6, 4 2-5ths ditto 1.—Grenadoes 6.—Muſquets 56.—Corned powder 50 bar-

and provided with a numerous [u] and well-regulated artillery; and that the enemy had got a ſquadron of four large veſſels [w] on the lake, mounted with cannon, and manned with piquets from different regiments, under the command of experienced naval officers.—A ſtrength, which, if to be encountered and defeated by General Amherſt, was ſufficient to retard his advancing to the aſſiſtance of the beſiegers of Quebec, before the approach of the winter ſeaſon would oblige him to fall back, to prevent his army's ſuffering by the inclemency of the weather. But ſuch was his zeal for the ſervice of his country, and ſenſible of the want General Wolfe would feel of his aſſiſtance, he ſeemed to forget that time flew away apace; and that it was not in his power to contend with the ſevere and tempeſtuous climate, both on ſhore and upon the lake. Regardleſs of any thing but to fulfil his inſtructions, his Excellency ordered a ſloop to carry ſixteen guns, and a radeau of 84 feet long and 20 broad, to carry ſix 24 pounders, to be built with the utmoſt expedition [x]: and with theſe, and with a brigandine [y] and

A. D. 1759.

General Amherſt's reſolution.

Conduct.

50 barrels.—Fire-balls 30.—Carriages ſpare, 18 pounders 1.—Intrenching tools, felling axes 110, pick-axes 8, hoes 232, ſledges 2. THOMAS ORD, Major R. R. Artillery.

[u] One hundred pieces of cannon.

[w] Mounting in all 34 guns, from 4 to 12 pounders, beſides ſwivels in them all.

[x] And they were accordingly got ready by the tenth of October.

[y] That carried 6 ſix pounders, 12 four pounders, 20 ſwivels, 70 ſeamen and 60 marines, detached from the troops, and arrived from Crown Point at this critical juncture.

A. D. 1759. a ſloop, which arrived on the 11th of Octoſter, the general embarked with his whole army to attack Burlemaque on the Iſland Aux Noix, where the French thought themſelves out of danger. A noble adventure! but a ſtorm next day aroſe upon the lake, and obliged them to ſeek for ſhelter on the weſtern ſhore [z]. However, while the men were detained by contrary winds, and refreſhing on the ſhore at this place, Captain Loring, to whoſe command the ſmall ſquadron was committed, ſailed in purſuit of the French, drove three of their ſhips into a bay; where two of them were ſunk, and a third was ran a-ground by their own crews, to favour their eſcape, and to prevent the veſſel's falling into the hands of the Engliſh. This ſucceſs animated the general to renew the attempt upon the Iſle Aux Noix; he reimbarked his troops and proceeded down the lake without fear of an enemy. But the ſtorm returned with ſuch fury, that his ſmall craft were not able to keep the ſea, and the ſeverity of the weather, which now put in exceeding faſt and ſtrong, convinced him of the impracticability of his intention; compelled him to give up all further thoughts of forcing a way to the river St. Lawrence, in queſt of the Britiſh fleet;

French veſſels ſunk, &c.

[z] On the 12th Major Reid, returning with ſome battoes of the royal Highland regiment, and miſtaking the light, which had been fixed for a ſignal on board the Radeau, for their ſteerage in the night, followed the brigandine light, and thereby, at day-break, found himſelf amongſt the enemy's ſloops, at les Iſles aux Quatre-vents. But he eſcaped their ſhot with the loſs of no more than one battoe, carrying a lieutenant, a ſerjeant, a corporal and 28 men.

and to ſeek ſhelter once more in the bay, from whence he had ſailed juſt before: where he debarked, and marched with his army back to Crown Point, without being able to get any certain intelligence of the ſituation and operations of the fleet and army before Quebec. A. D. 1759. Obliged to return.

He arrived at Crown Point on the 21ſt of October, where he completed his intended fortreſs, and three ſmall out forts: opened communications between Ticonderoga and the governments of New Hampſhire and Maſſachuſets: and diſpoſed his troops in winter-quarters, after ſuch a manner, as to prevent any inroads by the enemy. Arrives at Crown Point.

The expedition againſt Niagara [a] took effect about the middle of July. For, though the march Expedition againſt Niagara.

to

[a] A little tract publiſhed in 1757, ſpeaking of Niagara, ſays, "It is by this place alone that the French are, and ever will be, able to over-run and annoy our colonies in the manner they do, ſo long as they hold Niagara.—But if we were poſſeſſed of this one place, we might be free from them, and all their encroachments, incurſions, devaſtations, &c.

Niagara commands, in a manner, all the interior parts of North-America, and is a key as it were to that whole continent—opens or obſtructs a communication with all the natives of North-America, the ſix nations, Ohios, Shawanees, Miamis, Twightwies, Illinois, Pontewatimis, Nadoueſſians, Hurons, Utawas, Meſſeſagues, and many others—awes and commands all thoſe people—lies in the midſt of the extenſive territories of the ſix nations, and commands their beaver country entirely—ſecures their fur trade, and all the other inland trade of North-America.

It commands all the great lakes, and ſecures the navigation of them, that extends 12 or 1300 miles—prevents or ſecures the junction of the two French colonies in Canada and Louiſiana—

A. D. 1759. to this fortreſs was tedious and greatly embarraſſed, the forces did not meet with any oppoſition from the enemy. General Prideaux was joined at a proper time by the Provincials and eleven hundred Indians, under the command of Sir William Johnſon, and they carried on their approaches with great vigour, till the 19th of that month, when they were got within 140 yards of the covered way. General Prideaux walking that even-

General Prideauz killed.

ana—cuts off or maintains their paſſage to the river Ohio, Miſſiſſippi, Lake Erie, le Detroit, Sandoſki, Miamis, Fort St. Joſeph, Illinois, Kaſkaſkis, &c.—ſtops the farther progreſs of the Engliſh or of the French (whichever are poſſeſſed of it) in North-America—lays our colonies open to the inroads and incurſions both of the French and Indians—whilſt it would ſecure them from both in our hands—and unite the frontiers of our northern and ſouthern colonies together, for their mutual defence and ſecurity, which might all be ſecured by this one place, while they could not by many hundreds without it.

The great claim that Britain has in the inland parts of North America, is over the territories of the ſix nations, which this place lies in the midſt of, and in a manner entirely commands. We talk much of the river Ohio, which is likewiſe a place of great conſequence, it is true, but it ſeems to be of leſs conſequence than Niagara, which in a manner commands it. If we were poſſeſſed of Niagara, the French in Canada would be cut off from any acceſs to the river Ohio, and almoſt all their other encroachments on us. But if we let them remain in poſſeſſion of this place, all our colonies will be open to them, and we need never expect to be free from encroachments, broils, and diſſentions with them. Unleſs we recover Niagara, which ſo juſtly belongs to us, we engaged in this war to no manner of purpoſe; but muſt have frequent and daily occaſions for many more ſuch wars, with little proſpect of any better ſucceſs from them, than we have hitherto (in 1757) met with in this."

ing

ing in the trenches, was unfortunately killed by a cohorn-ſhot, careleſsly by his own gunner. General Johnſon gave immediate advice of this misfortune to General Amherſt, who, on the 28th of July diſpatched Brigadier-General Gage, with orders to take upon him the command of that army; and on the 1ſt of Auguſt detached a battalion, as above-mentioned, to ſupport the beſiegers. But in the mean time, before their arrival, Sir William Johnſon reduced the fort, beyond all expectation. For, though he had erected his third battery within 100 yards of the flag baſtion, the enemy, having reſolved to maintain this important poſt, to the laſt extremity, ordered all their out-parties at Detroit, Venange and Preſque Iſle, near 2000 men, with a large body of Indians, under M. d'Aubry, to reinforce the garriſon at Niagara. This was to defeat the ulterior part of General Prideaux's inſtructions, to proceed and aſſiſt in the reduction of Canada. As this expedient diſcovered the inability of the garriſon, in its preſent ſtate, to defend itſelf: ſo it pointed out the direct way for the Engliſh general to reduce it. And the chief command devolving upon Sir William Johnſon, by the death of General Prideaux, Sir William made the ſame application of the intelligence, he received of this reinforcement's approach; and prepared to intercept them in their march. The French were expected on the 24th in the morning. In the evening before, the general ordered the light infantry and piquets to take poſt on the road upon his left,

A. D. 1759.

Attempts of the French.

General Johnſon meets their eſcort.

A. D. 1759. left, leading from Niagara falls to the fort; in the morning he reinforced thoſe with two companies of grenadiers and part of the 46th regiment, and he poſted another regiment at the tail of the works, to ſupport the guard of the trenches.

The eſcort defeated. The Engliſh, thus ſtationed, perceived the enemy advance about eight in the morning. The Indians in the Engliſh ſervice offered a parley with their countrymen in the French army. But it was rejected: and the French Indians introducing the action with the horrid ſcream of war-hoop, the French regulars began the attack about half an hour paſt nine, with great reſolution. But they were ſo well received by our troops in front, and the Indians in flank, that in an hour's time the whole reinforcement was completely ruined, and their general and all their officers, in number ſeventeen, were made priſoners: and their killed were very numerous: for the ſlaughter continued for many miles, where they ſought refuge and were purſued through the woods.

The fort ſurrenders. This battle, fought in ſight of the fortreſs, and the liſt of the officers taken, which General Johnſon ſent by Major Harvey and a trumpet, immediately to the commanding officer, with his laſt ſummons, exhorting him to ſurrender, and to put a ſtop to the effuſion of more blood in a defenceleſs cauſe, and while it was in his power to reſtrain the Indians, wrought ſo effectually upon the garriſon, that the commander, having deſired leave to ſend an officer to viſit the priſoners, agreed to treat, and in a few hours a capitulation was drawn

drawn up and ſigned [b]. Agreeable to which the garriſon, of 607 effective men, were made priſoners A. D. 1759.

[b] *Articles of capitulation granted to the garriſon of Niagara, incloſed in Sir William Johnſon's letter to Major-General Amherſt of the 25th of July*, 1759.

Article I. The garriſon ſhall march out with their arms and baggage, drum beating, and match lighted at both ends, and a ſmall piece of cannon, to embark upon ſuch veſſels as the commander of his Britannic Majeſty's forces ſhall furniſh, to convey them to New York, by the ſhorteſt road, and in the ſhorteſt manner. Granted.

Art. II. The garriſon ſhall lay down their arms when they embark, but ſhall keep their baggage. Granted.

Art. III. The officers ſhall keep both their arms and their baggage. Granted.

Art. IV. The French ladies, with their children, and other women, as well as the chaplain, ſhall be ſent to Montreal, and the commander of his Britannic Majeſty's troops ſhall furniſh them with veſſels and ſubſiſtence neceſſary for their voyage to the firſt French poſt, and this is to be executed as ſoon as poſſible; thoſe women who chuſe to follow their huſbands are at liberty to do it. Granted, except with regard to thoſe women who are his Britannic Majeſty's ſubjects.

Art. V. The ſick and wounded, who are obliged to remain in the fort, ſhall have liberty to depart, with every thing that belongs to them, and ſhall be conducted in ſafety, as ſoon as they are able to ſupport the fatigues of a voyage, to the place deſtined for the reſt of the garriſon; in the mean time they are to be allowed a guard for their ſecurity. Granted.

Art. VI. The commanding officer, all the other officers, and private men, who are in the ſervice of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, ſhall quit the fort without being ſubject to any act of repriſals whatſoever. Granted.

Art. VII. An inventory ſhall be made of all the military ſtores in the magazine, which, with the artillery, ſhall be delivered up, bona fide, as well as all other effects, which are the property of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and which are found in the magazine, at the time of the capitulation. The veſſels and boats are included in this article.

Art. VIII.

A. D. 1759. ſoners of war, but were permitted to march out for embarkation, with the honours of war, and to their loſs.

Art. VIII. The ſoldiers ſhall not be plundered, nor ſeparated from their officers. Granted.

Art. IX. The garriſon ſhall be conducted under a proper eſcorte to the place deſtined for their reception: the general ſhall expreſly recommend to this eſcort to hinder the ſavages from approaching and inſulting any perſons belonging to the garriſon, and ſhall prevent their being pillaged by them, when they quit their arms for embarkation; and the ſame care is to be taken on every part of the route, where ſavages may be met with. Granted.

Art. X. An exact liſt ſhall be made of the names and ſirnames of the different troops, as well regulars as militia, and all others who are employed in his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's ſervice; and all thoſe who are ſo employed ſhall be treated in the ſame manner as the reſt of the garriſon. Granted in the firſt article.

Art. XI. All the ſavages, of whatſoever nation they be, who are found in the garriſon, ſhall be protected from inſult, and be allowed to go where they pleaſe. Granted; but it will be adviſeable for them to depart as privately as poſſible.

The articles being accepted, the general of his Britannic Majeſty's forces ſhall be put in poſſeſſion of a gate of the fort, but this cannot be done until to-morrow. To-morrow at ſeven o'clock in the morning.

Signed by

Pouchot, captain in the regiment of Bearn, commanding officer.
Vitar, captain in the regiment of Le Sarre.
Servier, captain in the regiment of Royal Rouſſillon.
Oliver de la Roche Verney, captain of the marine.
Bounnaffous, officer in the royal artillery.
Couſnoyer, lieutenant of the marine.
Soluignac, officer in the regiment of Bearn.
Le Chevalier de L'Arminac, lieutenant of the marine.
Joncaire, captain of the marine.
Morambert, lieutenant.
Chabert Joucain, in the regiment of Guienne.

embark, with all their baggage, for New York; but laid down their arms upon the ſhore, under an eſcort to protect them from the barbarous Indians. The ſick and wounded were permitted to remain, and were treated with great humanity: and all the women were, at their own requeſt, conducted to Montreal [c]. A. D. 1759.

Thus North America may boaſt of her heaven-born or ſelf-taught general, in thoſe victories gained over the French, by Sir William Johnſon, as well as Aſia does of her General Clive. And here ended the ſecond campaign in North America, under Mr. PITT's adminiſtration; by which Quebec, the capital of all the French ſettlements, and

Generals Johnſon and Clive compared.

Remarks on this campaign in North America.

[c] *Liſt of ordnance and ſtores at Niagara, at the time of its ſurrendering to the Engliſh, viz.*

Iron ordnance, fourteen pounders 2, twelve pounders 19, eleven pounders 1, eight pounders 7, ſix pounders 7, four pounders 2, two pounders 5.—Travelling carriages, fourteen pounders 2, twelve pounders 12, eight pounders 8, ſix pounders 5.—Garriſon carriages, twelve pounders 2, eight pounders 4, ſix pounders 3, four pounders 2.—Ladles with ſtaves, fourteen pounders 3, twelve pounders 12, eight pounders 9, ſix pounders 7, four pounders 2.—Spunges with rammer heads, twelve pounders 16, eight pounders 9, ſix pounders 10, four pounders 4.——Wadhooks with ſtaves 10.— Grudox defieu, twelve pounders 12, eight pounders 6, ſix pounders 7, four pounders 3.—Round ſhot looſe, twelve pounders 150, eight pounders 200, ſix pounders 2,600, four pounders 100.—Cohorn mortars on beds 2.—Hand granades 500.—Entrenching tools, axes large 100, hand-bills 300, hand-hatchets 500, ſhovels iron 300, mattocks 250, pick-axes 400, ſpades 50, whip-ſaws 12.—Corned powder 15,000lb.——Small lead ſhot and balls 40,000lb.—Match, Cwt. 2.

(Signed) George Wray, clerk of the ſtores.

Proviſions of all kinds enough.

the

A. D. 1759. the ſource of all our danger, on that continent, was reduced to the obedience of the Britiſh crown: and, by the poſſeſſion of Ticonderoga, Crown Point and Niagara, the road was opened to Montreal, the ſecond place of ſtrength and importance in Canada, and with whoſe conqueſt all that country, which had threatened to drive the Engliſh out of their provinces into the ſea, would ſubmit to the Britiſh dominion. But what might not be done, when the nation had ſuch a miniſter to plan and direct; and ſuch officers not only able, in their reſpective ſtations, but zealous to execute their inſtructions and orders?

Expedition to the Weſt Indies.

Theſe operations and conqueſts in North America were accompanied by others, no leſs intereſting for humbling the power of France, by completing the ruin of her colonies. They were both planned at one time, and deſigned to ſupport each other. The French ſugar iſlands, from whence they drew their riches, the ſinews of war, and which daily adminiſtred matter for diſputes between us and the Dutch, that perſiſted in their right by treaty, to cover the enemy's property in Dutch bottoms, were objects equally great in the views of the miniſter. Therefore, ſo early as in October 1758, Commodore Hughes was appointed to take under his command ſixty tranſports, with ſix regiments [d], and a detachment from the artillery at Woolwich, and a ſquadron of eight ſhips of the line, one frigate and four bombs, with eight hundred marines on board the men of war, and

Commodore Hughes ſails with troops.

[d] Old Buffs, Duroure's, Elliot's, Barrington's, Watſon's, Armiger's.

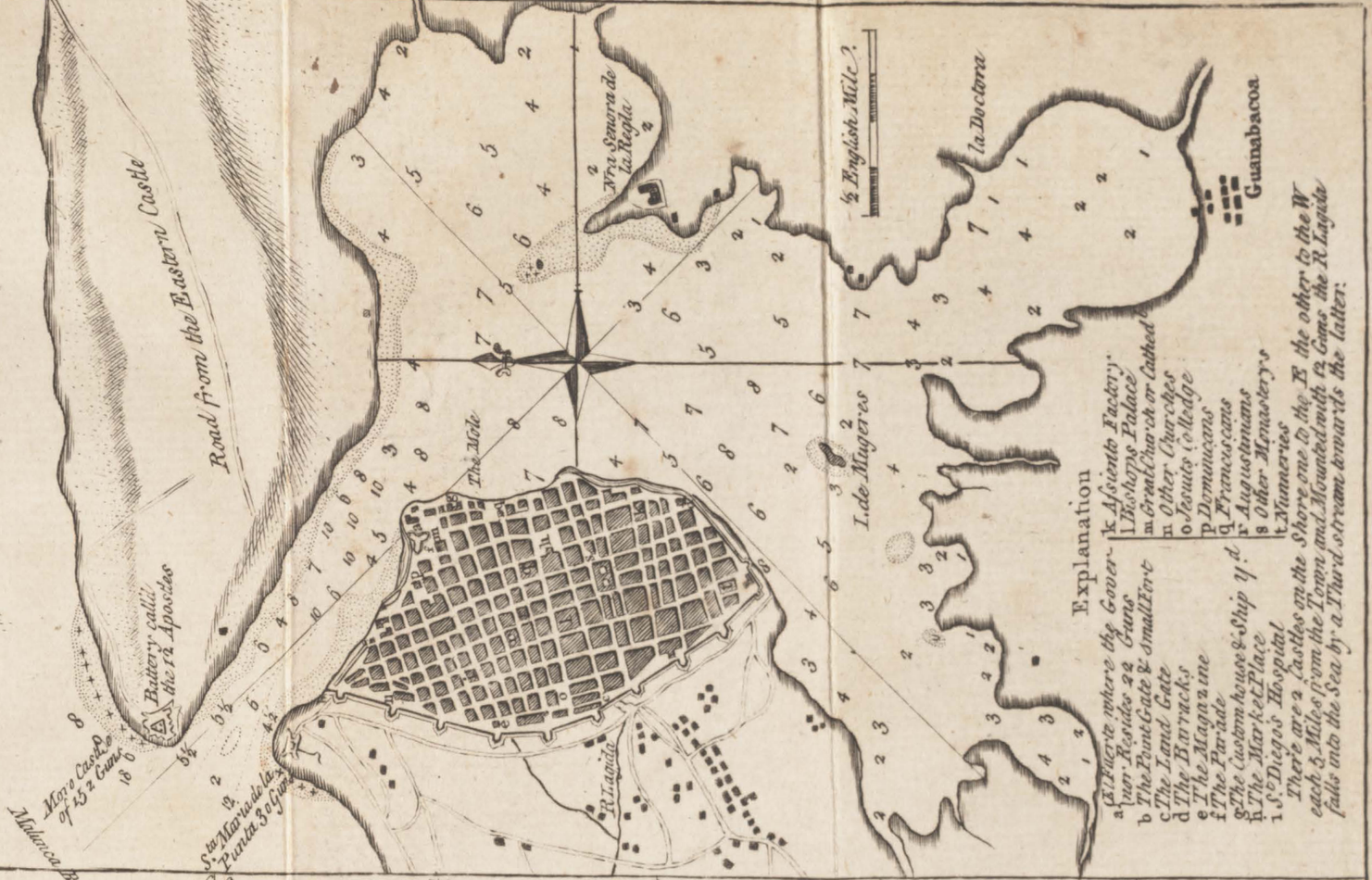
to

A New & Accurate MAP of the Seat of the late WAR in the WEST INDIES with a Plan of the City and Harbour of HAVANNAH.

1763.

References to the MAP.

* Islands ceded by France to G. Britain.
Conquered by G. Britain and restored to France.
Conquered by G. Britain & restored to Spain.
Neutral Island ceded to France.





to proceed to join Commodore Moore and his squadron, at the rendezvous in Carliſle-bay, in the Iſland of Barbadoes, in order to make a deſcent upon and to reduce Martinico, or Guadaloupe, or both thoſe iſlands and their dependencies, to the dominion of the Britiſh crown; under Major-General Hopſon, commander in chief, and Major Barrington, Colonels Armiger and Haldane, Lieutenant Colonels Tripaud and Clavering. With this armament Commodore Hughes ſailed from Spithead, about the end of October 1758, this ſouthern expedition having the advantage of that againſt the frozen zone, in point of time, on account of the temperament of the climate during the winter ſeaſon. He arrived at the port of their rendezvous on the third of January 1759, where he found Commodore Moore, with his ſmall ſquadron, which together made ten ſhips of the line [e], four frigates, four bombs and the ſixty tranſports. Commodore Moore took upon him the chief command, in conſequence of the King's inſtructions.

A. D. 1759.

Their deſtination.

Strength of the Engliſh.

[e] LINE of BATTLE.

	Guns.	Men.	Captains.
The Berwick	64	488	Harman.
Wincheſter	50	350	Le Craſs.
Rippon	60	430	Jeckyll.
Briſtol	50	350	Leſlie.
Norfolk	74	600	Hughes.
Cambridge	80	667	Burnet.
St. George	90	750	Gayton.
Panther	60	420	Schuldham.
Lyon	60	—	Trelawney.
Burford	64	520	Gambier.

Their

A. D 1759. Intended againſt Martinico.

Their deſtination was firſt againſt Martinico, the principal ſeat of their government, and center of trade and commerce in the French ſugar iſlands: and as ſuch has been always kept in a more defenſible ſtate than their leſs valuable colonies. But their ſtrength by art is much increaſed by the natural ſtrength of the iſland. Its coaſt is lined with many and dangerous ſhallows, that makes it inacceſſible for great ſhips, or any others without ſkilful pilots. The nature of the country, after ſurmounting the difficulties and hazards of the ſhore, is a greater diſcouragement to attempt an invaſion. It abounds with deep brooks or ſtreams of water, between precipices almoſt perpendicular; at any one of which paſſes one hundred reſolute regulars might defy a whole army. Beſides, as the French might ſuſpect ſuch a viſit, in return for their threats againſt Jamaica, they had thrown in a number of regular forces, tranſported in Dutch bottoms; and the militia of the iſland were both numerous, well armed and diſciplined.

The ſtrength of that iſland.

Its ports.

The principal ports on this iſland are Port Royal, conſiderable for its ſize, trade and ſtrength; and St. Pierre, which is very little inferior in any of thoſe advantages. But it was reſolved to make the firſt attack upon Port Royal; before which harbour they arrived on the 15th of January. Next morning the men of war deſtroyed the batteries, and drove the enemy from their entrenchments at Point des Negroes, on the weſt part of that harbour: ſo that the troops landed without oppoſi-

Deſcent made near Port Royal.

oppoſition. They laid under arms all the night following: and the general having reconnoitred the country, found the roads broken up for five miles about Port Royal, and that it would be difficult for him to preſerve communications in his march thither; therefore, on the ſeventeenth, General Hopſon propoſed to Commodore Moore, who had the chief command of the ſquadron, to land the heavy cannon, ſtores, proviſions, &c. at the Savannah, which is before Port Royal, and that he would march and take poſſeſſion of that ſpot, to encamp and to eſtabliſh a communication with the fleet: or, if that could not be done, he deſired that the boats might attend the ſame evening, it being moon-light, to bring off the troops. The commodore was of opinion, that the general's propoſal was impracticable, until the weſt part of the fort ſhould be ſilenced by the batteries raiſed by the troops on ſhore: but he made an offer to land the heavy artillery at Negro Point, where the troops then were; and alſo of tranſporting the ſame, where-ever the general pleaſed, by the ſeamen belonging to the men of war, without any aſſiſtance from the land forces. So that whether this place appeared much ſtronger than had been repreſented; or too powerful to be reduced by the forces ſent againſt it: or whether there was the want of that harmony between the naval and military officers, which is ſo requiſite to procure ſucceſs in all expeditions, where their united endeavours are required, General Hopſon inſiſted upon his propoſal, and reimbarked on the 17th

A. D. 1759.

Troops reimbark.

A. D. 1759. 17th at night; but did not give over all thoughts of making any further trial of a deſcent upon that iſland. For the general having called a council of war, they were of opinion, That it would be moſt for his Majeſty's ſervice to proceed to Fort St. Pierre, in order to attack that place, without loſs of time; with which opinion the general next day acquainted the commodore. Who immediately weighed anchor with his whole fleet, and entered the bay of St. Pierre on the 19th in the morning. Forty merchantmen were ſurpriſed in the bay: two bombs were ordered to ſail near enough to do their duty: the Rippon was charged with a battery about a mile and half north of the town, to ſilence it; and a ſignal was thrown out for the tranſports to come under the commodore's ſtern. But the commodore, after theſe diſpoſitions for an attack, remonſtrated ſo ſtrongly againſt a deſcent in this place, that it was given up alſo.

Proceed to St. Pierre.

The attack dropt. The commodore having examined the coaſt of St. Pierre's bay, repreſented to the general, that he made no doubt of deſtroying the town of St. Piere, and putting his troops into poſſeſſion thereof: but as the ſhips might, in the attack, be ſo much diſabled, as not to be in a condition to proceed immediately on any other material ſervice; and as the troops, if it ſhould be practicable to keep poſſeſſion of St. Pierre, would alſo be much reduced in their numbers, for any future attacks; and being of opinion that the deſtroying the town and fort of Baſſeterre, in the iſland of Guadalupe,

lupe, and keeping poſſeſſion of it, and by all poſſible means endeavouring to reduce the ſaid iſland, would be of great benefit to the ſugar colonies, as that iſland was the chief neſt of French privateers continually infeſting the Britiſh iſlands, and deſtroying the trade from North America, with ſupplies of proviſions, &c. the general adopted this propoſal very readily, and it was accordingly put in execution immediately [f]. A. D. 1759.

The fleet appeared off the town of Baſſeterre, in the iſland of Guadalupe, on the 22d of January: and every place they ſurveyed exhibited freſh difficulties. Not only the town, but all the avenues to it upon the coaſt, were well fortified, and the citadel, which ſtands upon a great eminence, was pronounced by the chief engineer to be impregnable to the ſhips. However the commodore, who looked upon this expedition to be his own child, and that he in ſome meaſure was accountable for its ſucceſs, reſolved to face all danger, and to encounter all difficulties. On the 23d he Guadalupe attacked.

[f] This ſudden reſolution ſeems to have been ſo precipitate, that the Rippon was left at her ſtation, and to the power of the enemy. She in a few minutes ſilenced the battery as ordered. But before ſhe could diſengage herſelf, four more batteries were opened, and played upon her ſo furiouſly, that they damaged her maſts, ſails and rigging very much. In which condition the Rippon was left, when the captain, not knowing any thing of the attack being given over, ſaw the commodore and the fleet two leagues a ſtern; and not ſeeing any ſhip but his own in the harbour, he very prudently manned his boats and towed her off.

A. D. 1759. drew up his ſhips in ſuch order[g], and made the attack with ſuch vigour and reſolution, that, after a moſt ſevere cannonading, which continued with unremitting fury from between nine and ten in the morning till night, he ſhewed what is in the power of ſhips to do againſt fortifications on ſhore; for he ſilenced all the batteries and the fort: next day he landed the military forces, and put them in poſſeſſion of the town and fort, without any farther oppoſition, or being annoyed by even one of the enemy. But the town, with all the merchandize, goods and treaſure therein, to a very great value, were deſtroyed by the flames oc-

Town in flames.

[g] The St. George, Norfolk, and Cambridge, ſtationed along ſide the citadel or fort, that mounted 47 guns. The Lyon to a battery of nine guns. The Panther and Burford to a battery of 12 guns. The Berwick to a battery of ſeven guns. The Rippon to another of ſix guns. Which had like to have fallen into the hands of the enemy, on this occaſion. The caſe was this: having drawn cloſe up to the northernmoſt battery of ſix guns, by an unlucky ſhift of wind, after ſhe ſilenced her battery, ſhe got faſt a-ground: which the enemy obſerving, availed themſelves of; for ſome hundreds of them came to the intrenchments, directly over the ſhip; and kept ſuch an inceſſant fire of ſmall ſhot and cannon, which they dragged purpoſely to the place, that there ſeemed little likelihood of getting the Rippon off. But, by the bravery of her officers and people (who, while ſome were employed in carrying anchors aft to heave her off, plied ſo well their grape ſhot, as to do great execution) after being 13 hours in this critical ſituation, ſhe was again happily got afloat, and with leſs loſs than could be expected, only two being killed, and 13 wounded, ſome indeed dangerouſly, for the enemy made uſe of bits of old iron, pots, glaſs, &c. Mr. Chardy, lieutenant of marines, loſt his leg.

caſioned

caſioned by the powder magazine, and the quantity of rum and ſugar ſet on fire by the four bombs, which began to play from their ſtation near the ſhore, as ſoon as the batteries and forts were ſilenced. A. D. 1759.

Great reflections have been caſt upon M. de Eſtreil, the governor of Baſſeterre. It was certainly an overſight, had a bombardment been expected, to ſuffer the town to be filled with warehouſes of ſuch combuſtible matter, as ſugar and rum. But no body can blame his retreat to a ſtrong ſituation, with a reſolution to defend that poſt, when he was burnt out of Baſſeterre, without the leaſt poſſibility of quenching the fire; that alſo deprived him of the means of defence in the town. Which was literally, too hot to hold. M. Dutreil's conduct.

The governor, with his troops, retired to a riſing ground, very ſtrong by nature, and intrenched himſelf with great art, about ſix miles from Baſſeterre. He broke up the roads, as he retreated; and added to the difficulty of marching after him by a number of gullies. This, with the ſteep aſcent to his camp, made an attack upon him in this ſituation very hazardous. Therefore, when General Hopſon and Commodore Moore offered him conditions to ſurrender, he rejected them with diſdain: and the condition of our forces was not able to compel him. Beſides, the death of General Hopſon, who departed this life on the 27th, in the camp at Baſſeterre, occaſioned ſome little obſtruction to the preſent operations. Retires to a ſtrong poſt.

A. D. 1759.

General Barrington succeeds to the chief command.

His conduct and operation.

The chief command of the army devolved, by this death, upon Major-General Barrington, who by Commodore Moore's advice, reſolved upon leaving a garriſon, which was compoſed of Watſon's regiment, and a detachment from the artillery, under Colonel Deſbriſay, to be governor, in the citadel; and to proceed to Grand Terre, the moſt fertile part of the iſland, and which the commodore repreſented might become an eaſy conqueſt, could Fort Louis be taken. For this purpoſe, the commodore had detached the Berwick with three frigates, three tenders and two bombs, with marines and Highlanders on board. Theſe ſailed on the 6th of February, and on the 13th, after a ſevere cannonade, of ſix hours, which ſilenced the forts and batteries near it, a large detachment of marines and Highlanders landed, drove the enemy from the intrenchments and hoiſted Engliſh colours on the fort. The obſtacle being thus removed, General Barrington, on the 1ſt of March, having ſcoured the country and appointed the garriſon above mentioned, embarked the reſt of the troops and ſailed with the whole fleet for Grand Terre, but by the difficulty of turning to windward, it was the 11th before they arrived at Fort Louis; and then only 25 of the tranſports came to an anchor: the others being either driven much to leeward, or prevented by the winds and ſtrong currents from weathering the points of the Saintes.

Fort Louis reduced.

The army and fleet arrive.

The general went a-ſhore that ſame evening at Fort Louis, to ſurvey the fort, and the works carrying on by the brave fellows that conquered it: and

and on the 12th, he went in an open boat to reconnoitre the two coaſts of the bay, as well the Grand Terre ſide, as that of Guadalupe, to pick out the moſt proper place for a deſcent: when, to his great ſurprize, in the evening, Commodore Moore acquainted him, that he, having received certain intelligence of a French ſquadron of ſhips of war, conſiſting of nine ſail of the line and two frigates, being ſeen to the northward of Barbadoes, it was therefore neceſſary for him to quit this place, with all the ſhips of war under his command, and to go into Prince Rupert's Bay, in the iſland of Dominique, as a ſituation more advantageous for the protection of Baſſeterre, and this place, as well as the Engliſh iſlands. The general thought it adviſeable the next day to call together the general officers to conſider what, in their preſent ſituation, was beſt to be done, and it was determined, notwithſtanding the divided ſtate of the troops, by the ſeparation of the fleet; the weak ſtate of Fort Louis, and the impoſſibility of ſupplying it with water but from the ſhips; and the many other difficulties, which then appeared; that it would be moſt for his Majeſty's ſervice, and the honour of his arms, to do the utmoſt to keep poſſeſſion of the fort, and to wait ſome further intelligence of the motions of the enemy. A. D. 1759. The fleet leave the army.

Commodore Moore ſailed the next morning for Prince Rupert's Bay [h], with all the ſhips of war,

[h] While our fleet laid in this bay, above 11 weeks, the French privateers ſailed out and took upwards of 90 ſail of Engliſh merchantmen, and carried them into Martinico.

3

A. D. 1759.

except the Roebuck of 40 guns, which he left as ſome protection to the tranſports.

Brave reſolution of the general,

From this time to the 17th General Barrington continued to direct works to be made for the ſecurity of the camp, and for the finiſhing, as well as ſtrengthening the lines, when the chief engineer, who was on board one of the tranſports that could not before get up, being arrived, and having made a report of the weakneſs of the fort, he thought it neceſſary to call a council of war to conſider the ſtate thereof; and it being debated whether the fort might not be made tenable, and kept as a garriſon for his Majeſty's ſervice, on a more circumſcribed plan, though it appeared impoſſible to keep it in the preſent extent of out-poſts; it was determined, after much conſideration, That from its weakneſs and bad conſtruction, its being commanded by ſeveral heights very contiguous to it, as well as the great difficulty (it may indeed be ſaid the impoſſibility) of procuring for the preſent, and eſtabliſhing a conſtant ſupply of water, and other more neceſſary things for the ſupport and defence of a garriſon in this part of the world; not to be tenable. However, the general was determined to hold it, until ſome future event might convince him what was beſt to be done for his Majeſty's ſervice. And though he reflected on the ſtate of the army under his command, and of the little probability there was of ſucceeding in any attempt of reducing the country by the troops he had, without the aſſiſtance of the ſhips of war to cover them in landing, he determined to make a deſcent

a deſcent on the coaſt of Grand Terre; and for that purpoſe ordered Colonel Crump, with a detachment conſiſting of 600 men, to go in ſome of the tranſports, that carried moſt guns, and endeavour to land between the towns of St. Anne and St. François, and deſtroy the batteries and cannon: which was happily executed with very little loſs. A. D. 1759. Deſcent on Grand Terre.

As he imagined by ſending Colonel Crump to attack the towns of St. Anne and St. François, the enemy would be obliged to detach ſome of their troops from the poſt of Goſier, the general ordered, two days after he ſailed, the only 300 men he had left, to be put on board tranſports, and lie off that town; and in the morning of the 29th he went to reconnoitre the battery and intrenchments, and perceiving that the enemy appeared leſs numerous, than for ſome time before, he made a diſpoſition for forcing them by two different attacks. This was executed the next morning at ſun-riſing, with great ſpirit and reſolution, by the troops; and notwithſtanding the fire of the enemy from their intrenchments and battery, both were ſoon carried with little loſs, and the enemy drove into the woods. The troops immediately deſtroyed the cannon and battery, with the town. Reduced.

This being happily effected, the general ordered the detachment to force its way to Fort Louis; and, at the ſame time, ſent orders for the garriſon to make two ſallies, one to the right, in order to put the enemy between two fires, and the other

to

A. D. 1759. to attack their lines, as he knew that which he had juſt made would oblige them to ſend troops to oppoſe his paſſage on that ſide. The firſt was made, but the latter, by ſome miſtake, was not executed; which, had it been done, they muſt inevitably have been in poſſeſſion of their lines. The detachment from Goſier forced their paſſage with ſome loſs, notwithſtanding a very ſtrong paſs, that the enemy were poſſeſſed of, and took poſſeſſion of a battery of three twenty-four pounders, which would, the next day, have played on our camp.

Governor Deſbriſay killed. While the general was thus employed, he received advice of the death of Governor Deſbriſay[i], who

[i] "Lieutenant-Colonel Deſbriſay was captain of foot at the battle of Laffeldt, or Val, near Maeſtricht, in 1747, where being wounded, and lying upon the ground amongſt the ſlain, he was run through by a French officer, whoſe unmanly example was immediately followed by the platoon he commanded, all, or moſt of them, planting their bayonets in different parts of his body. Of about thirteen wounds which he received, eight were judged mortal. Being afterwards at table with the Mareſchal Count de Saxe, of whoſe politeneſs as an enemy, many honourable inſtances were given, in the courſe of the late war, he was ſtrongly ſollicited by the mareſchal, "who the officer was that had uſed him ſo very unlike a ſoldier, threatning to diſgrace him at the head of the regiment:" but Deſbriſay, though well acquainted with his name, the commiſſion he bore, and the corps he ſerved in, moſt generouſly declined it; contenting himſelf with letting his excellency know, that he was no ſtranger to his perſon, and begging his excuſe from being obliged to point him out.

As he was at all times alert, ſo was he very indefatigable: had a thorough knowledge of his profeſſion, and was maſter of

who was killed by the blowing up of ſome cartridges, that took fire from the wadding of a 24 pounder, diſcharged from the upper baſtion of Fort Royal, at a body of the enemy, on the 23d of March. Major Trollope, a lieutenant of the 63d regiment, and two private men, were likewiſe killed by this accident; and a captain, another lieutenant, and three men, wounded: and the parapet of the baſtion was levelled with the ground by the exploſion. A. D. 1759.

At the ſame time he was told, that the enemy had erected a bomb-battery, and thrown ſeveral ſhells into the fort; and that they had, for ſome time paſt, been working, as the garriſon ſuſpected, upon another battery; he therefore ordered Major Melvill, whom he had appointed governor, to cauſe a ſortie to be made from the garriſon in order to deſtroy it. Accordingly a detachment of 300 men ſallied out, under the command of Captain

of great application in it. He was quick, and had a happy preſence of mind, which foreſaw a difficulty and the method to conquer it at one and the ſame inſtant; cool in action, and brave without oſtentation: preſuming never upon a ſuperiority of parts, but always diffident of himſelf; thought and read much, and was ever forming ſome new deſign to moleſt and annoy the enemy. The ſervice of the public was the ſpring that wound him up, and put his whole frame in motion. He had the true fire of a ſoldier in him, and with it was as complete a gentleman as any in the ſervice, dying ſincerely regretted by every officer of his acquaintance *." See *Captain* GARDINER'S *account of this expedition.*

* The like character might have been given, with great juſtice, to a brother of his, a captain in Oglethorpe's regiment, who died in Georgia, in 1742.

Blomer,

A. D. 1759. Blomer, on the 1ſt of April, and without much difficulty forced the enemy's entrenchments, and got into the work; which proved to be a battery of one 18 pounder, and one 12, nearly compleated. Our people ſpiked the guns, and returned to the garriſon with the loſs of only ſix men killed, and ſix wounded.

He alſo ſent thither immediately, the chief engineer, as well as the commanding officer of the artillery, that no time might be loſt in putting the citadel again into a proper ſtate of defence.

The remaining part of the tranſports, with the troops, being now arrived; nine having come on the 23d of March, and the others by one or two in a day: as the general had long intended, ſo ſoon as it was in his power, to make an attack on the Guadalupe ſide, where the enemy had ſome poſts of infinite conſequence, he, upon the information of ſome negroes, who promiſed to conduct the troops in flat-bottomed boats by night, formed a deſign of ſurprizing Petit-Bourg, Guoyave, and St. Mary's, at the ſame time. The firſt was to be effected by Brigadier Crump, who, the moment he had made himſelf maſter of it, was to march to Bay Mahaut, and deſtroy the batteries there, as well as a large magazine of proviſions, that the enemy had collected from the Dutch, and to hinder any more arriving: The latter, under Brigadier Clavering, after he had ſurprized St. Mary's and Guoyave, was to march into the Capeſterre, and reduce that fine country. The ſucceſs of this appeared not only to the general, but

Capeſterre reduced.

but to the gentlemen who were to execute it, almoſt infallible: but the night proved ſo bad, and the negroe conductors were ſo frightened, that they ran ſeveral of the boats on the ſhoals, of which that coaſt is full; ſo that though Brigadier Clavering did land, with about 80 men, yet the place was ſo full of mangroves, and ſo deep in mud, that he was obliged to return, and not without the enemy's diſcovering the deſign. A. D. 1759.

This obliged the general to attempt by force, what could not be effected upon the ſafer plan: but as he was then laid up in a moſt ſevere fit of the gout, in his feet, head, and ſtomach, he ſent Brigadiers Clavering and Crump to reconnoitre the coaſt near Arnouville; and upon their report he ordered 1300 regulars, and 150 of the Antigua volunteers, to land under the protection of the Woolwich man of war. On Thurſday the 12th of April, at day-break, Brigadier Clavering landed with the troops under his orders, conſiſting of 1300 men, excluſive of the Antigua volunteers, at a bay not far diſtant from Arnouville. The enemy made no oppoſition to their landing, but retired as our troops advanced, to very ſtrong intrenchments behind the river Le Corn. This poſt was to them of the greateſt importance, as it covered the whole country to the Bay Mahaut, where their proviſions and ſupplies of all ſorts were landed from St. Euſtatia; and therefore they had very early taken poſſeſſion of it, and had ſpared no pains to ſtrengthen it, though the ſituation was ſuch as required very little aſſiſtance from art.

The

A. D. 1759. The river was only acceſſible at two narrow paſſes, on account of a moraſs covered with mangroves, and thoſe places they had occupied with a redoubt and well paliſaded intrenchments, defended with cannon, and all the militia of that part of the country. The Engliſh could only approach them in a very contracted front, which was at laſt reduced to the breadth of the roads, interſected with deep and wide ditches. Our artillery, which conſiſted of four field pieces, and two howitzers, were ordered to keep a conſtant fire on the top of the intrenchments, to cover the attack made by Duroure's regiment and the Highlanders, who, on this occaſion, behaved with the greateſt coolneſs and reſolution, keeping up, as they advanced, a regular platoon firing. This behaviour ſo intimidated the enemy, that they abandoned the firſt intrenchment on the left, into which the Highlanders threw themſelves, ſword in hand, and purſued the enemy, with part of Duroure's regiment, into the redoubt.

The enemy ſtill kept their ground at their intrenchments on the right, from whence they annoyed our people very much, both with muſquetry and cannon: and though they, who had carried the firſt intrenchments, had got into their rear, yet, till a bridge could be made to paſs the river, they could not get round to attack this poſt. This took up near half an hour; but however they got up time enough to take near 70 of the enemy priſoners, as they were endeavouring to make

make their eſcape: amongſt whom were ſome of the moſt conſiderable inhabitants of the iſland. A. D. 1759.

There was found in both the intrenchments, ſix pieces of cannon. Our loſs was one officer and 13 men killed, and two officers and 52 men wounded.

So ſoon as the ditches could be filled up for the paſſage of the artillery, they proceeded on their march towards Petit-Bourg. A conſiderable number of the enemy had lined an intrenchment, about half a mile on the left of the road; but when they perceived that the Engliſh were endeavouring to ſurround them, they abandoned it, keeping always about 200 yards in our front, ſetting fire to the ſugar canes, which obliged our troops more than once to leave the road, to avoid any accident to their powder.

The troops arrived late on the banks of the river Lizard; behind which, at the only ford, the enemy had thrown up very ſtrong intrenchments, protected with four pieces of cannon on the hill behind them.

Having reconnoitred the ſide of the river, and finding it might coſt very dear to force the paſſage at the ford, the general therefore kept up their attention all night, by firing into their lines, during which time he got two canoes conveyed about a mile and a half down the river, where being launched, they ferried over before break of day in the morning, a ſufficient number of men to attack them in flank, whilſt the ſame was done in front: the enemy ſoon perceived their danger, and

A. D. 1759. and left their intrenchments with the greateſt precipitation.

Petit-Bourg reduced. Thus our troops paſſed without the loſs of a man, ſtill purſuing them to Petit-Bourg, which place they had fortified with lines, and a redoubt filled with cannon. But as Captain Uvedale was there, in the Granada bomb, throwing ſhells into the fort, the enemy did not remain in it long, when they ſaw the general's intention of occupying the heights round them; but left him maſter of that, and the port, with all the cannon round the place.

On the 15th, at day-break, after halting one day, Brigadier Crump was detached, with 700 men, to the Bay Mahaut, and at the ſame time Captain Stiel, with 100, to Guoyave, about ſeven miles in our front, to deſtroy a battery there. The panic of the enemy was ſuch, that they only diſcharged their cannon at him, and abandoned a poſt that might have been defended againſt an army. He nailed up ſeven pieces of cannon, and returned the ſame evening to Petit-Bourg. Brigadier Crump returned likewiſe the next day, with his detachment from the Bay Mahaut, where he found the town and batteries abandoned. Theſe he burnt, with an immenſe quantity of proviſions, that had been landed there by the Dutch, and reduced the whole country, as far as Petit-Bourg.

The heavy rains, on the ſucceeding days, had ſo ſwelled the rivers, that it was impoſſible for the troops to advance: however, this delay gave them an opportunity of ſtrengthening the poſt at Petit Bourg. On the 18th, in the evening, the

Antigua

Antigua volunteers took poſſeſſion again of Guoyave: they were ſupported early the next morning, by a detachment commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Barlow, who had orders to repair the road for the paſſage of the cannon. And on the 20th, after leaving 250 men to guard Petit-Bourg, the remaining part of the detachment, with the cannon, moved on to Guoyave, in order to proceed afterwards to St. Mary's, where the enemy were collecting their whole force, and had likewiſe thrown up intrenchments, and made barricadoes on the road, to make a ſtand. But the general found that it was not impoſſible to get into their rear, by roads, the enemy thought impracticable, and conſequently had guarded with very little care. A. D. 1759.

A detachment was immediately formed under Colonel Barlow, for this ſervice, and orders were ſent to haſten the march of the artillery, which, from the badneſs of the roads, had not been able to get up. The firſt ſhot from our cannon placed very near their intrenchment, with the alarm that was given by our detachment in the rear, made the enemy very ſoon ſenſible of the dangerous ſituation they were in, and indeed their precipitate flight only ſaved them from being all taken priſoners. Our men purſued them as far as the heights of St. Mary's, where the Engliſh formed again for a freſh attack on the lines and batteries at that place.

Whilſt the barricadoes were levelling for the artillery, a ſecond attempt was made to paſs the

A. D. 1759. woods and precipices, that covered the flanks of the enemy's lines; but before our cannon could be got up they perceived this movement, and began to quit their lines to oppoſe it: which made the general reſolve, without any further delay, to attack them immediately in front; and it was accordingly executed with the greateſt vivacity, notwithſtanding the conſtant firing both of their cannon and muſquetry. They abandoned here all their artillery, and went off in ſo much confuſion, that they never afterwards appeared.

The victors took up their quarters at St. Mary's that night, and the next day entered the Capeſterre, which is the richeſt and moſt beautiful part of this or any other country in the Weſt Indies. Eight hundred and ſeventy negroes, belonging to one man only, ſurrendered this day.

Here Meſſrs. de Clainvilliers and Duqueruy, deputed by the governor and principal inhabitants of the iſland, applied to Brigadier Clavering to know the terms that would be granted, and to demand a ceſſation of arms. Which brought on a capitulation, ſigned on the 1ſt of May, whereby they were protected in the enjoyment of their civil and religious liberties, and in their property and commerce as Britiſh ſubjects [k]. A capitulation,

The iſland capitulates.

[k] *Articles of capitulation between their Excellencies the Hon. Major General Barrington, and John Moore, Eſq; commanders in chief of his Britannic Majeſty's land and ſea forces in theſe ſeas, and M. Nadau Dutreel, governor for his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, of Guadalupe, Grande Terre, Deſeada, and the Saintes.*

Art. I. We the governor, ſtaff and other officers, of the regular troops, ſhall march out of our poſts, with one mortar, two

tion, which was rightly judged. The ſituation of ſo ſmall an army, and ſo much fatigued with continual

A. D. 1759.

Critical ſituation of our troops.

two field pieces of braſs-cannon, with ten rounds for each piece, arms, baggage, and the honours of war. Granted, except the mortar; and as to the cannon we will allow only four rounds for each piece; and on condition that the troops of his Britannic Majeſty ſhall take poſſeſſion of the different poſts at the three rivers, and the hoſpital to-morrow morning, the 2d of May, at eight o'clock; and that all magazines of proviſions, ammunition, and implements of war, as well as all papers relating to the revenue, be delivered into the poſſeſſion of a commiſſary to be named by us for that purpoſe.

Art. II. That we ſhall be ſent to Martinico, in a good veſſel, well provided, and by the ſhorteſt paſſage. Granted.

Art. III. That the commiſſary-general, officers of juſtice, admiralty, and all ſuch as have the King's commiſſion, ſhall likewiſe be ſent to Martinico, in a good veſſel, well provided, and by the ſhorteſt paſſage. Granted only for the commiſſary-general, and to the officers of the admiralty, and refuſed to the others.

Art. IV. That the ſtaff and other officers ſhall have leave to take with them their wives and children to Martinico; and ſhall have a good veſſel well provided to carry them by the ſhorteſt paſſage. Granted.

Art. V. That the ſtaff and other officers ſhall have the ſame number of ſervants granted them, as were allowed by the moſt Chriſtian King, viz. To the governor 24; to the commiſſary-general 24; to the lieutenant-governor 18; to the fort-major 15; to the captains 12 each; to the lieutenants eight each; and to the enſigns ſix each. Granted.

Art. VI. That it ſhall be allowed to all the officers who have eſtates in this colony (except to me the governor, unleſs the King permits me alſo) to appoint attornies to act for them until the peace; and if the iſland is not then ceded, the above-mentioned officers ſhall have leave to ſell their eſtates, and carry off the produce. Granted.

A. D. 1759. continual ſervice, and without a fleet to protect them on the coaſt, and to take them on board in caſe

Art. VII. That a good veſſel ſhall be allowed to the lady of M. Duclieu, lieutenant-governor-general of the iſlands, and captain of one of the King's ſhips, to carry her to Martinico, with her equipage, furniture, plate, and ſervants, ſuitable to her rank: and alſo to the governor's lady, and the wives and widows of the ſtaff officers of this iſland. Granted: One veſſel for all the ladies.

Art. VIII. That M. de Folleville, lieutenant-governor of Martinico, ſhall have a good veſſel to carry him and his volunteers thither, by the ſhorteſt paſſage, with only ſuch arms, baggage, and ſervants, as they brought with them. Granted.

Art. IX. That the Sieur Avril of Dominique and his detachment, ſhall be ſent thither with their arms and baggage. Granted.

Art. X. That the priſoners, ſoldiers, and ſailors, ſhall be mutually exchanged. Granted.

Art. XI. That all the negroes who were inliſted and continued to the laſt day of the attack, in the companies of Bologne, Petit, Dumoliere, and Ruby, agreeable to the liſt that will be given in of them, ſhall have their freedom at the expence of the colony, as by agreement. Granted, upon condition that they are immediately ſent out of the iſland.

Art. XII. That the men belonging to the privateers, who deſire to go to Martinico, ſhall have a veſſel to carry them thither. Granted.

Art. XIII. That there ſhall be a reaſonable time allowed for removing the furniture, effects, and cloaths, that are in the reduit, or other places, belonging to the perſons who are to be ſent to Martinico; and that his excellency General Barrington, ſhall grant his protection for the ſafe conveyance of the above-mentioned effects to the place of embarkation. Granted.

Art. XIV. That there ſhall be an hoſpital ſhip provided for the wounded and ſick that are in a condition to be removed; and

caſe of neceſſity, made it abſolutely neceſſary, that what was to be done, ſhould not be procraſtinated: for A. D. 1759.

and the reſt ſhall be taken care of and ſent with a flag of truce to Martinico, as ſoon as they are recovered. Granted. Thoſe that remain here ſhall be taken care of, at the expence of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty.

Art. XV. That the ſubjects formerly belonging to the King of Great Britain, who for crimes were forced to fly their country, and have carried arms in this iſland, ſhall be pardoned, and allowed to remain in the iſland as inhabitants. They muſt go out of the iſland.

Art. XVI. That the ſame honours and conditions ſhall be granted to the King's troops in the Grande Terre, as are given to thoſe in Guadalupe. They ſhall have neither mortar nor cannon.

Art. XVII. That the troops at the head of the reduit, as well as thoſe at the three rivers, ſhall march to the poſt of the camp de la Garde, and remain there until the day of embarkation.

The tranſport ſhips ſhall be at the great bay to-morrow morning to receive the troops of the garriſon, the privateers men, and thoſe who are to paſs to Martinico.

JOHN MOORE. J. BARRINGTON.
NADAU DUTREIL.

Articles of capitulation between their excellencies the Hon. Major-General Barrington, and John Moore, Eſq; commanders in chief of his Britannic Majeſty's land and ſea forces in thoſe ſeas, and the inhabitants of the iſland of Guadalupe, repreſented by Meſſrs. Debourg, de Clainvilliers, and Duqueruy, by virtue of full powers to them given for that purpoſe, and authoriſed by Monſieur Dutreil, Knight of the noble military order of St. Louis, governor of the iſland.

Art. I. The inhabitants ſhall march out of their poſts with all the honours of war, viz, with two field pieces, their arms, colours flying, drums beating, and lighted match. Granted,

A. D. 1759. for had the general allowed them time to recover from their fears, or a truce, that had prolonged the

in conſideration of the brave defence which the inhabitants have made, during an attack of three months, upon condition that they lay down their arms ſo ſoon as they have marched by our troops, and that all the forts, poſts, batteries, cannon, mortars, firelocks, and bayonets, with all kind of ammunition, and implements of war, be delivered to a commiſſary to be named by us; and that we ſhall have a power of fixing garriſons in all ſuch places as we ſhall think proper.

Art. II. The inhabitants of the iſlands of Martinico, Marigalante, and Dominico, who came to the aſſiſtance of this iſland, ſhall have leave to retire, with their arms and baggage, and a ſhip ſhall be provided to carry them, and the ſervants they brought with them, to their reſpective iſlands, with proviſions for their paſſage. Granted, excepting thoſe from Marigalante, who ſhall be ſent to Martinico.

Art. III. The inhabitants ſhall be allowed the free and public exerciſe of their religion; the prieſts and religious ſhall be preſerved in their pariſhes, convents, and all other poſſeſſions; and the ſuperiors of the ſeveral orders ſhall be permitted to ſend for ſuch as they think neceſſary from France, and the neighbouring iſlands: but all letters wrote upon this occaſion ſhall be tranſmitted by the governor appointed by his Britannic Majeſty. Granted.

Art. IV. They ſhall obſerve a ſtrict neutrality, and not be forced to take up arms againſt his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, or againſt any other power. Granted, on condition that they take an oath within a month, or ſooner, if poſſible, to maintain all the clauſes of the capitulation, as well as to remain exactly faithful and neuter,

Art. V. They ſhall be allowed their civil government, their laws, cuſtoms, and ordinances; juſtice ſhall be adminiſtred by the ſame perſons who are now in office; and what relates to the interior police of the iſland ſhall be ſettled between his Britannic Majeſty's governor and the inhabitants. And in caſe this iſland ſhall be ceded to the King of Great Britain at the peace, the

the negociation till the French fleet might relieve them from their ſtate of deſpondency, he and his army A. D. 1759.

the inhabitants ſhall have their choice, either to keep their own political government, or to accept that which is eſtabliſhed at Antigua and St. Chriſtopher's. Granted; but when any vacancies happen in the ſeats of juſtice, the ſuperior council of the iſland is to name proper perſons to fill up thoſe vacancies, who muſt receive their commiſſions from his Britannic Majeſty; and all acts of juſtice whatſoever are to be in his name. But in regard to any change in the political government, we grant it, if agreeable to his Majeſty's pleaſure.

Art. VI. The inhabitants, as well as the religious orders, ſhall be maintained in the property and enjoyment of their poſſeſſions, goods moveable and immoveable, noble and ignoble, of what nature ſoever they may be; and ſhall be preſerved in their privileges, rights, honours, and exemptions: and the free negroes and Mulattoes in their liberty. Granted.

Art. VII. They ſhall pay no other duties to his Britannic Majeſty but ſuch as they have hitherto paid to his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, without any charge or impoſts; the expences attending the adminiſtration of juſtice, the penſions to curates, and other cuſtomary charges, ſhall be paid out of the revenue of his Britannic Majeſty, in the ſame manner as under the government of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty. Granted; but if this iſland is ceded to his Britannic Majeſty at the peace, it ſhall be ſubject to the ſame duties and impoſts as the other Engliſh leeward iſlands, the moſt favoured.

Art. VIII. All priſoners taken during the attack of this iſland ſhall be mutually exchanged. Granted.

Art. IX. The free Mulattoes and negroes, who have been taken, ſhall be conſidered as priſoners of war, and not treated as ſlaves. Granted.

Art. X. The ſubjects of Great Britain, who have taken refuge in this iſland, whether criminals or debtors, ſhall have leave to retire. Granted.

A. D. 1759. army muſt have periſhed. And therefore we find General Barrington in his letter to Mr. PITT congratulating

Art. XI. No other but the inhabitants actually reſiding in this iſland ſhall poſſeſs any lands or houſes, by purchaſe, grant, or otherwiſe, before a peace; but if at the peace this iſland ſhould be ceded to the King of Great Britain, then ſuch of the inhabitants as do not chuſe to live under the Engliſh government ſhall be permitted to ſell their poſſeſſions, moveable and immoveable, to whom they will, and retire wherever they pleaſe; for which purpoſe there ſhall be a reaſonable time allowed. Granted; but ſuch of the inhabitants as chuſe to retire, ſhall have leave to ſell to none but ſubjects of Great Britain.

Art. XII. In caſe there ſhould be any exchange at the peace, their Britannic and Moſt Chriſtian Majeſties are deſired to give the preference to this iſland. This will depend on his Majeſty's pleaſure.

Art. XIII. The inhabitants ſhall have free liberty to ſend their children to be educated in France, and to ſend for them back: and to make remittances to them whilſt there. Granted.

Art. XIV. The abſent inhabitants, and ſuch as are in the ſervice of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, ſhall be maintained in the enjoyment and property of their eſtates, which ſhall be managed for them by attornies. Granted.

Art. XV. The wives of officers and others, who are out of the iſland, ſhall have leave to retire with their effects, and a number of ſervants ſuitable to their rank. Granted.

Art. XVI. The Engliſh government ſhall procure for the inhabitants an exportation for ſuch commodities as the iſland produces, and are not permitted to be exported into England. Granted, as the iſland produces nothing but what may be imported into England.

Art. XVII. The inhabitants ſhall not be obliged to furniſh quarters for the troops, nor ſlaves to work on the fortifications. Granted: but barracks will be provided as ſoon as poſſible for the

gratulating himſelf, That he had but juſt ſigned the capitulation with the inhabitants of the Grand Terre, A. D. 1759.

the lodgment of the troops; and ſuch negroes, who ſhall be employed, with the conſent of their maſters, in public works, ſhall be paid for their labour.

Art. XVIII. The widows, and other inhabitants, who through illneſs, abſence, or any other impediment, cannot immediately ſign the capitulation, ſhall have a limited time allowed them to accede to it. Granted: but all the inhabitants, who chuſe to partake of the advantage of the capitulation, ſhall be obliged to ſign it within a month from the date hereof, or to quit the iſland.

Art. XIX. the men belonging to the privateers, and others who have no property in the iſland, and are deſirous to leave it, ſhall have veſſels to carry them to Martinico or to Dominico, (at their option) and ſhall be furniſhed with proviſions for the paſſage. Nevertheleſs thoſe perſons who have any debts with the inhabitants of the iſland, ſhall be obliged to ſettle their accounts with them before they depart. Granted.

Art. XX. The inhabitants ſhall have leave to give freedom to ſuch negroes as they have promiſed it to, for the defence of this iſland. Granted, on condition they are immediately ſent off of the iſland.

Art. XXI. The inhabitants and merchants of this iſland, included in the preſent capitulation, ſhall enjoy all the privileges of trade, and upon the ſame conditions as are granted to his Britannic Majeſty's ſubjects throughout the extent of his dominions. Granted, but without affecting the privileges of particular companies eſtabliſhed in England, or the laws of the kingdom, which prohibit the carrying on the trade in any other than Engliſh bottoms.

Art. XXII. The deputies of the Grand Terre, not having a ſufficient power to ſign the capitulation, though the colony adheres to the conditions of it, under the authority of N. Nadau,

A. D. 1759. Terre, when a meſſenger arrived in the enemy's camp, to acquaint them that M. Beaubarnois, the general of theſe iſlands, had landed at St. Ann's, on the windward part of that iſland, with a reinforcement from Martinico of 600 regulars, 2000 buccaniers, and 2000 ſtands of ſpare arms for the inhabitants, with artillery and mortars, under the convoy of M. Bompart's ſquadron. Which meſſage, had it arrived an hour ſooner, might have rendered the conqueſt of Guadalupe very difficult, if not impoſſible. But as ſoon as he heard that the capitulation was ſigned, he reimbarked his forces and arms; and the ſmall iſlands of Marigallant, Deſeada, Santos and Petitz Terre ſubmitted to the Britiſh crown, before the end of the month, upon the ſame conditions, as granted to Guadalupe. But the inhabitants of Marigal-

dau, may ſign it when they have their full powers, and they will be comprehended in all the clauſes. Granted.

Given at the head-quarters in the Capeſterre, Guadalupe, the firſt day of May, 1759.

J. BARRINGTON. JOHN MOORE.
NADAU DUTREIL. DEBOURG DE CLAINVILLIERS.
DUQUERUY.

We the deputies of the Grand Terre, arrived this day with full powers, do conſent to the capitulation, ſigned the firſt of this month, between their Excellencies the Honourable General Barrington and John Moore, Eſq; and the inhabitants of Guadalupe, agreeable to the 22d article of the ſaid capitulation.

Done at the head-quarters in the Capeſterre, Guadalupe, the ſecond day of May, 1759.

DUHAYEIS. GAIHETON.

lante

lante put on an appearance of a reſolution to defend themſelves; till they ſaw a detachment of troops, under the convoy of three men of war and two bomb-veſſels upon their coaſt, and ready to land. Which prevailed with them to receive an Engliſh garriſon. A. D. 1759.

The great good conduct and zeal of Brigadiers Clavering and Crump, and the bravery of the troops, executing with vigour and courage, the orders of Major General Barrington, laid up with the gout, got the better of every obſtacle; forced the enemy in all their quarters, entrenchments and ſtrong paſſes, and advanced as far as Capeſterre; and as that was not the only object of the conqueror's arms, and the iſlanders had moſt private property to loſe in that diſtrict, without any hopes of defence, Brigadier Crump having taken fifty pieces of cannon in his rout, theſe circumſtances brought the enemy to terms, to deliver up an iſland of infinite conſequence and value. On which, it has been roundly and poſitively aſſerted, there is more ſugar grown, than in all the Leeward Iſlands put together. It is certain, from experience ſince its conqueſt, that this account of its produce in ſugar is much exaggerated; but nevertheleſs it muſt be allowed to be the beſt of all the French ſugar iſlands [1], both for ſugar, cotton, Remarks. Importance of this conqueſt.

[1] Guadalupe, one of the Carribbee Iſlands, was ſo named by Columbus, from the reſemblance of its mountains to thoſe of that name in Spain; but it was by the Caribbees themſelves called Karukera, or Carriceura. It is reckoned fifteen miles

A. D. 1759. ton, and coffee, and to exceed the produce of any of the Britiſh, except Jamaica. The Capeſterre abounds

miles N. W. of Marigalante, and thirty leagues N. W. from Martinico, W. long. 62. N. lat. 16. 6. It is the largeſt and one of the fineſt belonging to the French in thoſe parts, being near 100 leagues in circumference. Father Tertre's map repreſents it divided in two parts by a channel about a league and a half over, called the Salt River, navigable only by canoes, that runs N. and S. and communicates with the ſeas on both ſides, by a great bay at each end, of which that on the north is called Grande Cul de Sac, and the ſouth, Petit Cul de Sac. The eaſt part of the iſland is called Grand Terre, and is about nineteen French leagues from Antego Point on N. W. to the Point of Guadalupe on S. E. and about nine leagues and an half in the middle where broadeſt. M. Robbe, the French geographer, makes this place about fifty leagues in compaſs. The W. part, which is properly Guadalupe, according to Laet, is ſubdivided by a ridge of mountains into Capeſterre W. and Baſſeterre E. This is 13 ½ leagues from N. to S. and 7 ½ where broadeſt, and 45 leagues in compaſs. Both parts would be joined by an iſthmus a league and half broad, were it not cut through by the ſaid canal. Grand Terre part is deſtitute of freſh water, which is ſo plentiful in the other (properly called Guadalupe) that it has enough to ſupply the neighbouring iſlands. Labat makes this 35 leagues in compaſs, and both parts or iſlands together about 90. The Salt River, he ſays, is about 300 feet over at its mouth, towards Great Cul de Sac, from whence it grows more narrow; ſo that in ſome places it is not above 90 feet over. Its depth is alſo unequal; for in ſome places it will carry a ſhip of 500 tons, in others, hardly a veſſel of 50. It is a ſmooth clear ſtream, above two leagues from one Cul to the other, finely ſhaded, moſtly with mangroves. The air is clear and wholeſome, and is not ſo hot as in Martinico. The French began to ſend colonies to it about 1632; but it has vaſtly more increaſed ſince the beginning of the preſent century.

In

abounds with good rivers, that water one of the moſt delightful tracts of land in the univerſe: and A. D. 1759.

In the Grand Terre, on the E. ſide of the Petit Cul de Sac, ſtands Fort Louis, with a redoubt before it of ſix guns, to play into the road. This fort lies in that quarter called the pariſh of Goſier. In the Grand Terre are great indentures made in the land by the ſea, affording ſhelter to veſſels from hurricanes or enemies, in ſuch deep water, that, inſtead of anchorage, they are moored to palmetto trees on each ſide, the branches of which, in a manner, cover them. The Grande Cul contains a baſon five or ſix leagues long, from the point of Gros Morne in the Baſſeterre, to that of Antigua in Grand Terre, three leagues where broadeſt, and one where narroweſt; a ſafe road for all rates. The Petit Cul de Sac is a populous, well-cultivated, trading pariſh, to the north of Goyaves; and both are in Cabes Terre, on the eaſt ſide of Guadalupe Proper. Ginger comes up exceedingly well in the eaſt of Proper Guadalupe, between Great Cul de Sac and the river of Cabes Terre, or Great River, which is 180 feet wide, clear water, but almoſt impaſſable by reaſon of numberleſs rocks. People here eat vaſt quantities of it even green, becauſe of the extraordinary moiſture of the country. The next river to the S. is the Grand Carbet, and half a league further Grand Bananiers. That named Trois Rivieres, four miles broad, is on the ſouth-eaſt ſide of Guadalupe, where ſtands the Old Fort, for the ſecurity of the coaſt, which is very even, has good anchorage, and a ſmooth water, and therefore moſt liable to deſcents from enemies, who, if they had this part of the iſland, might cut off the communication between Cabes and Caſſe Terre, and thereby make themſelves maſters of the whole. There are therefore two iron guns to give alarm; and in the ſulphur mountains is a redoubt called Dos d'Aſne, to which the French, when ſuch a deſcent has happened, ſent their beſt effects, wives, children and old men. But the country here is ſo full of woods and precipices, that an handful of men might keep off an army. The river Galleons,

A. D. 1759. and it has a port, in which the whole navy of England might ride ſecure from hurricanes; Guadalupe

leons, on the ſouth-weſt ſide, where they have another fort, is ſo called, becauſe the Spaniſh galleons uſed to put in there for refreſhments, before the French had the iſland.

The chief fort of all is at the town of Baſſeterre, two leagues north from the Point of Old Fort. The town is alſo the chiefeſt, with ſeveral churches, monaſteries, and magazines, and a caſtle with four bulwarks, beſides a fort on a neighbouring mountain. It was burnt by the Engliſh in 1691, after thirty-five days ſiege, together with ſome other forts; and when it was almoſt entirely rebuilt, it was carried away by a furious inundation of the river Bailiff. After it was begun to be rebuilt, it was a ſecond time burnt by the Engliſh in 1703, with Magdalen and other forts. Magdalen fort ſtands on higher ground than the town. Its walls are waſhed on the ſouth-eaſt by the river Galleons. Weſt it faces the ſea, from whence it is 100 paces; and on the north-weſt ſide it looks towards the town and mountains. The moſt conſiderable part of the town is betwixt the fort and that called the river of Herbs; and this is properly called the town of Baſſeterre; and that which extends from the river to the brook of Billan, is called the town of St. Francis. Between the Bailiff, weſt, and the great river of Goyaves, eaſt, are ruins of another fortification, deſtroyed by the Engliſh in 1691. About half a league from hence is Ance à la Bark creek, where the Engliſh made then their deſcent; the moſt likely place, ſays Labat, they could have choſen for every man of them to be cut to pieces, if the French general officers had behaved as they ought; becauſe of the many defiles, difficult paſſes, mountains and rivers, between the landing-place and fort of Baſſeterre.

In the government of Guadalupe are comprehended not only the Grand Terre, but Xaintes, or All Saints Iſlands, and Deſeada. The former are three little iſlands, on the ſouth-eaſt ſide of Guadalupe, of which the weſternmoſt is called Terre

lupe is computed to contain 10,000 Europeans, and 30,000 Negroes [m], and is fortified with ſeveral regular forts. Its air is more healthy and temperate than in moſt of the iſlands between the tropics. It has not only a very conſiderable trade for its own produce [n], but is ſo ſituated, as to carry on a trade with the Caraccas, and other parts of the Spaniſh main, for European goods, which are returned almoſt entirely in bullion or money; and in the hands of the French, it may be called the Dunkirk of the Weſt Indies: for it being ſituated in the middle of the Leeward Iſlands, has always been a harbour for their privateers. Yet this conqueſt was made with the inconſiderable loſs of twenty-two officers dead, eleven killed and twenty-one wounded [o]. A. D. 1759.

We

Terre de Bas, or Low Iſland, about three leagues in computation, and the eaſternmoſt of the iſlands the High Iſland, the biggeſt; the third, in the middle of the other two, is only a large rock, but helps to form a very good harbour.

[m] Valued, by the loweſt computation, at 1,250,000 l. ſterling.

[n] In ſugar only the produce is computed at 300,000 l. ſterling to the planter.

[o] *The following is an authentic liſt of the officers killed, wounded and dead, belonging to the forces under the command of the Honourable General Barrington, from their leaving England, to the 30th of April* 1759.

Third regiment, Howard's. Captain Imber, Lieutenant Campbell, Enſign Greenwood, dead; Enſign Grieat, killed; Lieutenant Bailie, wounded.—4th regiment, Duroure's. Lieutenant Dorell, Lieutenant Abbit, Lieutenant Gray, dead; Captain Dalmahoy, Lieutenant Wincheſter, killed; Captain Colonel

A. D. 1759. We ſhall cloſe the account of this grand enterprize and conqueſt with a paſſage in the journal of Captain Richard Gardiner, whoſe gallant behaviour at the head of the marines, on board the Rippon, entitles him to the regard of his fellow ſubjects; "Thus, ſays the captain, ended an expedition of great importance to the public; and in which the Engliſh arms acquired reputation, even from the enemy. The intrepidity of the officers who commanded, and the reſolution of the men who obeyed, were very uncommon and remarkable, and ſuch only, as a true ſenſe of honour, and a true zeal for their Sovereign and their

Colonel Campbell, Enſign Meredith, wounded.—61ſt regiment, Elliott's. Enſign Horner, dead; Captain Gunning, killed; Lieutenant Rowland, wounded.—63d regiment, Watſon's. Lieutenant Ralph, Enſign Williams, dead; Lieutenant Colonel Deſbriſay, Major Trolop, Lieutenant Read, killed: Captain Gilman, Lieutenant Hart, wounded.—64th regiment, Barrington's. Captain Sneid, Lieutenant Walker, Enſign Irwing, Surgeon Webb, Ditto Mate Robinſon, Ditto Mate Hudſon, dead; Lieutenant Maxwell, Lieutenant Bell, Enſign Southouſe, wounded.—65th regiment, Armiger's. Lieutenant Colonel Salt, Lieutenant Cromelin, Lieutenant Donaldſon, dead; Enſign Leech, killed; Captain Stevens, Lieutenant Ferrell, Lieutenant Campbell, wounded.—38th regiment, Roſs's. Lieutenant Stewart, dead; Lieutenant Plaſtow, killed; Major Melvill, Enſign Dunbar, Surgeon Nicholſon, wounded.—42d regiment, Highlanders. Major Anſtruther, Captain Arbuthnot, dead; Enſign M'Lean, killed; Major M'Lean, Lieutenant M'Lean, Lieutenant Leſlie, Lieutenant St. Clair, Lieutenant Robinſon, wounded.—Artillery. Lieutenant Tyndall, killed; Captain Innis, wounded. Mr. Jack, engineer, dead.—Total of officers dead 22; killed 11; wounded 21.

A. D. 1759.

country, could inſpire: expoſed to dangers they had never known, to diſorders they had never felt, to a climate more fatal than the enemy, and to a method of fighting they had never ſeen: harraſſed with perpetual alarms, and fatigued with conſtant duty, they ſtill advanced, alert in all hours of caution, invincible in all hours of attack. Frequently they ſuffered from concealed fires out of the woods, from lurking parties of armed negroes, that could not be diſcovered [p], and where the officer who commanded was in the ſituation of Virgil's Rutulian captain:

Sævit atrox Volſcens, *nec teli conſpicit uſquam*
Auctorem, nec quo ſe ardens immittere poſſit.
Æn. 9.

On ſuch occaſions they preſerved their ranks inflexibly, or ruſhed with bayonets fixed among the trees and buſhes, till they had ſcoured them thoroughly. Fortune at laſt declared in their favour, and conqueſt became the recompence of virtue; when, under the directions of an active and enterpriſing commander in chief, whoſe orders were executed with the ſame alacrity they were given, the Britiſh troops ſucceeded in reducing to his Majeſty's obedience, an iſland, perhaps, of as great conſequence to the crown of England,

[p] A body of armed negroes, concealing themſelves one day in the canes, and firing out of them, the Engliſh ſet fire to the ſeveral corners of the field, and burnt them and the canes together.—Madame Ducharmey armed her negroes, and led them to the attack in perſon.

A. D. 1759. as any other in ſubjection to it in South America of infinite prejudice to the trade and commerce of the French, our natural and inveterate foe; and of as much ſecurity to our colonies and plantations near it.

Nor were the officers and ſeamen of the royal ſquadron at all inferior, in their ſeveral departments, to the gentlemen of the army; and while we admire the diſtinguiſhed rapidity of Crumpe, the gallant impetuoſity of Deſbriſay and Melville, we are called upon, with equal juſtice, to applaud the ſpirited perſeverance of the intrepid Shuldham (of the Panther), and the youthful ardour of the brave old Leſlie (of the Briſtol), not to omit the memorable and irreſiſtible fire of the St. George, Captain Gayton, and Cambridge, Captain Barton, of which a Frenchman, ſpeaking in reply to a queſtion I had aſked him, "How they came "to quit the citadel?" anſwered, with ſome warmth, *Eh! comment, Monſieur? Tout autre que le Diable eût quitté lá Citadelle; c'étoit le feu d'enfer même.* "What, Sir! Nobody but the Devil "would have ſtaid there; for it was the fire of "Hell itſelf."

General Barrington's conduct after the conqueſt.

General Barrington having done with his military operations in the field, made the tour of the iſland, to view the fortifications, and to confirm the peace and tranquillity of the inhabitants by every civility and act of grace in his power. He ordered ſuch of the forts to be repaired, as ſeemed neceſſary to be maintained, and engraciated himſelf ſo much in the eſteem of the natives, that

it

it was a doubt whether he was more reſpected and loved by his army, or by his conqueſts. A. D. 1759.

There being nothing more for him to do with his troops, the general ſignified to Commodore Moore (who had attempted to follow Bompart's ſquadron to the coaſt of Guadalupe, but was kept back by contrary winds) his intention to ſend part of his forces to England about July, and demanded a convoy for that purpoſe. The commodore made what haſte he could to Baſſeterre, where he was reinforced by two ſhips of the line from England, and informed that the French ſquadron was ſkulking at the Iſland of Granada, about eight leagues from Guadalupe. The addition of theſe two ſhips made the Engliſh ſquadron much ſuperior to the enemy's; and it was reſolved to ſail in queſt of them. But before the Engliſh could weigh anchor, a frigate, diſpatched for intelligence, brought advice that M. de Bompart's ſquadron had departed from Granada, and ſteered towards Hiſpaniola. And as, by ſome intercepted letters, it was probable, a deſcent upon Jamaica might be attempted by that armament, the commodore diſpatched the Ludlow Caſtle to Admiral Cotes, who commanded on that ſtation, with advice thereof. Reſolves to return to England.

In the ſeparation of the army, the general ſent the Highlanders, with a body of draughts, to North America, under convoy. Three compleat regiments were allotted to guard the conquered iſlands: and the other three were embarked for England. Colonel Delgarno was honoured with Separates the army. Provides for the ſecurity of the iſland.

A. D. 1759. the command of Grand Terre. Colonel Melville continued governor of the citadel of Baſſeterre, and Colonel Crump was left with the chief command over all. A ſmall ſquadron, under the command of Commodore Hughes, was appointed to convoy the troops to England; on board of whom General Barrington himſelf embarked, about the latter end of June, and arrived ſafe in England.

Embarks for England.

Affairs in the Eaſt Indies.

The Britiſh arms in the Eaſt Indies were alſo fully employed. The French, under M. Lally, made their laſt ſtruggle in Coromandel: and our good and faithful allies, the Dutch, who had evaded their obligation to aſſiſt us, when attacked by the French, and treacherouſly ſupplied our enemies with impliments of war, both for ſea and land; and perſiſted in carrying their property in Europe and America, conſpired with them in a ſcheme more ruinous than the maſſacre of Amboyna, to extirpate the Britiſh commerce and name from the Ganges and Bengal, that M. Lally and M. d'Ache might be at liberty to deſtroy the reſt of our commerce and ſettlements in Aſia.

M. Lally marches againſt Madraſs.

We left M. Lally marching againſt Madraſs [q]. This general encamped on St. Thomas's Mount [r], about nine miles from the town, on the 10th of

[q] See p. 300. Vol. III.

[r] So called from a tradition, that St. Thomas the Apoſtle had preached the goſpel on that ſpot. Here is ſtill a chapel, dedicated to that ſaint, ſupplied by a Portugueze prieſt. About which are many villas and gardens, incloſed with brick walls breaſt high, on account of its pleaſant ſituation and goodneſs of the air.

Decem-

December, with 3500 Europeans, 2000 Sepoys and 2000 horſe, on the very ſpot the Engliſh had left the day before, who retreated to Choultry-plain. M. Lally advanced, and on the 12th, about break of day, his army appeared on the plain alſo. The utmoſt caution being neceſſary at this important criſis, the governor had deſired Colonel Lawrence not to venture an action, unleſs upon terms of the higheſt advantage; the colonel, after a cannonading of about two hours, retreated from this camp alſo, and retired into the garriſon. The enemy entered immediately, and occupied the camp thus abandoned, about a mile and a half to the ſouthward. Their advanced guards took poſſeſſion of the garden-houſe and the neighbouring villages, in order to inveſt the town. A. D. 1759.

Three poſts were reinforced in the Black-town, with orders to do all in their power to obſtruct the motions of the enemy; but to retreat into the fort, before their communication ſhould be in danger of being cut off. Which was performed on the 14th, when M. Lally attacked the Black-town, in two columns. This quarter was too large to be defended. But the haſty retreat of the piquets to the fort ſo diſcouraged the inhabitants, that it threw them into great confuſion, and both women and children thronged to the fort for protection. As this required ſome immediate addreſs to keep up the ſpirits of the garriſon, Colonel Draper, who formed his judgment upon principles of nature; taking it for granted, that the

Enters the Black-town without oppoſition.

Colonel Draper's advice and bravery.

A. D. 1759.

enemy had conceived ſuch a contempt of the garriſon, for ſuffering them to take poſſeſſion of the Black-town, without oppoſition, as might throw them off their guard, and give a ſwing to the dictates of their paſſions and appetites, to plunder and to revel in military licentiouſneſs, over a vanquiſhed enemy, he propoſed a ſally, and offered himſelf to command a party for that ſervice. Their known want of diſcipline in the French army encouraged this undertaking alſo. This propoſal had the approbation of the governor and of Colonel Lawrence; who furniſhed Colonel Draper with 500 men and two field-pieces; and ordered Major Brereton, with 150 men, to cover their right flank from Lally's brigade, and to prevent their coming upon them from the north part, by which was the quarter Colonel Draper propoſed to enter the Black-town.

Begins with tokens of ſucceſs.

Never was there any ſervice better concerted, nor executed with more reſolution than this ſally, at the beginning; and fortune ſeemed to ſmile on their bravery. Draper's men marched out full of ſpirits, and the French miſtaking them for Lally's brigade, ſuffered them, unmoleſted, to form upon their left flank; nor were they apprized of the miſtake, till convinced by the fire of the field pieces, loaded with grape-ſhot. This firſt charge threw the left flank of the enemy into great confuſion; ſo that they abandoned their cannon, and ſought only to ſave their perſons. Now was the critical moment to puſh the broken remains of the French. Colonel Draper would have ſeized the

How defeated.

opportunity: commanded his men to ceaſe firing, and to charge with bayonets fixed: he even ſet the example and advanced; but there wanted regularity and obedience: his orders were ineffectual, and his example was followed only by four brave fellows, grenadiers; two of whom were killed; the other two were dangerouſly wounded. A. D. 1759.

Colonel Draper ſallied out by the weſt, entered by the ſouth ſide of the Black-town, and penetrated quite through, almoſt to the end of the ſtreet, before he perceived any corps of the enemy: where he received a ſcattering fire. Here he left two platoons to check them, and marched on with the reſt to the ſquare, at the extremity of that ſtreet, where the ſtreets croſſed each other, and exhibited a fair view of the Lorrain regiment and Indian battalions in the flank, waiting for him at the head of another ſtreet, more to the weſt, where they had pointed four guns in that direction. Here our cannon began to play briſkly with grape-ſhot, which, together with the muſketry, made ſuch havock amongſt the enemy, that they ſoon fell into confuſion, abandoned their cannon, and hid themſelves under ſome huts; having fired no more than three ſhot. Colonel Draper advanced, and in perſon exchanged a piſtol with the officer of the artillery, who immediately ſurrendered, having no ſupport at hand. But the colonel had the mortification not to find men to carry off the guns. His own men, as well as the French, had thrown themſelves under the cover of ſome houſes and old walls: which Attacks the French. Not ſupported by his men.

A. D. 1759. Retreats.

gave the enemy time to rally. This created ſuch a diſorder amongſt our people, that the colonel thought it moſt prudent to retreat. This he attempted down the ſtreet to the eaſtward from the ſquare: but by ſome neglect of the drummers, or miſunderſtanding of the ſoldiers, he had the misfortune to loſe eighty of his men; who continuing at their poſt in the ſquare, after the colonel had marched off with the reſt, were ſhut up there by the enemy, and obliged to ſurrender priſoners of war. However, Colonel Draper being joined by Colonel Brereton's corps, in the nick of time, he made his retreat good to the fort, with very little loſs; though Lally's regiment planted themſelves at the little bridge, and fired briſkly with two field pieces and grape, as the troops marched to the entrance of the town, at the north ravelin.

Remarks.

How jilting was fortune on this occaſion! every thing ſeemed, at the beginning of this action, to promiſe the deliverance of Madraſs from the horrors of a ſiege; and the total overthrow of the Lorrain regiment and Indian battalions. Count d'Eſtaing, a brigadier-general, was made priſoner at the beginning. The enemy loſt near three hundred men; and had upwards of thirty officers killed or wounded; and their artillery fell into the hands of the Engliſh. But a ſudden irregularity threw all into confuſion. The victors fought for ſhelter, inſtead of purſuing the runaways. The enemy was permitted to rally, to recover their cannon, and to cut off the communication with eighty of our men. Which, with

Loſs of the French.

Of the Engliſh.

the loſs of Major Polier, Captain Hume and Enſign Chaſe mortally wounded; Captain Paſcall and Lieutenant Elliot ſhot through the body; Captain Lieutenant Bilhock killed; Lieutenants Smith and Blair wounded and taken; one hundred and three men taken; fifty killed and fifty wounded, made our loſs in this ſally to be eight officers and two hundred men and upwards. A. D. 1759.

During the ſally the enemy fired ſeveral field pieces into the fort, but did no damage. Neither did the artillery in the fort attempt any further than to diſturb the beſiegers, where it was thought they might be at work; the engineer being employed in ſeveral neceſſary works to ſecure their water, to remove obſtructions on the ramparts, and to ſet up a palliſadoe in an opening under the ſouth flank of the royal baſtion. The enemy continued quiet all next day (the 15th) and loſt ſeveral men by deſertion, who, diſguſted with their officers and ſervice, and expecting no ſucceſs againſt the fort, came into it with their arms. Operations in the ſiege.

The reports of the diſagreement amongſt the officers, and the diſguſt ſhewn by the men in the French camp, encouraged the beſieged to try the iſſue of another ſally. Forty volunteers, and as many Sepoys, were ordered for this ſervice. They marched out ſecretly about eleven at night for the Black-town, to give the enemy an alert, and to nail up ſome pieces of cannon, ſaid to be planted in the ſtreets. But this party being diſcovered by the enemy's centinels, almoſt as ſoon as they had paſſed the glacis, the whole army was alarmed; and

A. D. 1759. and the ſortie was forced to retreat within their walls. The French, in the following night, returned the compliment by a pretended attack, which ended with a few men only, who advanced with a bravado near the glacis, and gave their fire. Still there was no appearance of works carried on for a ſiege, and deſerters continued to come in every evening, who informed the governor that the enemy were waiting for mortars and ſtores, and that ſome were already arrived at St. Thomas's. A ſupply, which the governor of Madraſs had tried to intercept or prevent its landing, by employing a Dutch ſnow to attack and take the French ſhip, loaded with the enemy's ſtores. This ſnow was manned by the gentlemen of the ſquadron and marines, commanded by Captain Jaſper; and had they ſucceeded, as it was highly probable they might have done, nothing could have ſo effectually ſerved the garriſon, or ſo much have hurt the enemy. But, after being detained by bad weather in the road, from the 12th, Captain Jaſper could not prevail with his people on board to proceed in the execution of their orders, under a perſuaſion, that their intention was diſcovered. They accordingly returned on the 18th, and landed. The governor then gave out publickly, that he would diſtribute 50,000 rupees among the garriſon, for their encouragement, five days after the ſiege ſhould be raiſed, or the French beat off.

A flying camp. But their ſpirits were kept up chiefly by the flying camp, that was formed by Captain Preſton, who

who commanded at Changalaput; which hovered about the French army, and harraſſed them with great ſucceſs. This was owing to the foreſight and good management of the governor of Fort St. George and Madraſs, ſome time before the approach of the French; who had, in the beginning of December, commiſſioned Major Caillaud to ſollicit the King of Tanjore, Tondeman and the other Polegars in thoſe parts, for aſſiſtance in caſe of neceſſity. In which commiſſion the major was ordered to join Captain Preſton and Iſowf Cawn. Major Caillaud undertook this commiſſion with great alacrity and reſolution, though he had the difficulties of the monſoon, which was then at the very height, and no other conveyance or carriage than an open boat, along a coaſt within the reach of many garriſons poſſeſſed by the French. The uncertain ſtate of affairs made this application neceſſary, at leaſt to prevent the court of Tanjore falling under the abſolute influence of the enemy; and prevailed with the major to defy all dangers, which he had the good fortune to eſcape, and he landed at Tranquebar, a Daniſh ſettlement, and reached Tanjore about the middle of December. But as Monagee, the prime-miniſter, in the intereſt of the Engliſh, and his friends, had been obliged to reſign and give place to a miniſtry, who, according to the true ſpirit of eaſtern politics, adviſed the king to ſide with neither of the European powers, but to wait the event of their arms, in order to make his own advantage: and this council being favoured by the intelligence received

A. D 1759.

Major Caillaud's negociation at Tanjore.

A. D. 1759. ceived, of the ſurrender of the Black-town to the French, without a blow; Major Caillaud, notwithſtanding his known intereſt and influence with the country powers, was put off from day to day, and at laſt could obtain no more than three hundred horſe, to be paid by the company. With theſe, and about the ſame number of choſen, well-diſciplined and active Sepoys, whom he collected, he ſet out immediately upon a march of 250 miles, to Changalaput; and performed it in eleven days.

Here the major left his men to follow him, after they had been refreſhed, and proceeded to the Mount of St. Thomas, whither Captain Preſton had marched the party, he had a commiſſion to command. At the mount he met with fifteen hundred Sepoys and two thouſand horſe, under Iſouwf Cawn; and five hundred Sepoys, ſixty Europeans and ſix three pounders, part of the garriſon of Changalaput, under the command of Captain Preſton; who had pitched upon this ſituation to be the fitteſt to cut off the convoys for the enemy's camp, and to harraſs and keep it in conſtant alarms, and ſo effectually to obſtruct their operations, that it was certainly by the danger apprehended from this flying army, that the ſiege was carried on with ſo little ſpirit. For at one encounter Captain Preſton had taken [s] a convoy, with a number of ſpare arms, a large mortar, two cannon, ſome ammunition, a quantity of bul-

Captain Preſton's ſucceſs with the flying camp.

[s] On the 18th of December.

locks,

locks, and tents for 3000 men: he had repulſed ſeveral detachments from the enemy's main army; and in one action had treated the black forces ſo ſeverely, that they were obliged to move off towards Arcot to recruit. A. D. 1759.

Theſe loſſes and alarms made it neceſſary for M. Lally to deliver himſelf from ſo dextrous and active an enemy in his rear. He was thoroughly ſenſible of the check this flying camp could, at all times, give to his operations; and was convinced that nothing leſs would do, than a force ſufficient to cruſh them effectually. He compared them to flies hovering about a pot of ſugar, no ſooner beat off from one part, but they ſettle on another. So that as ſoon as his black forces were recruited and returned from Arcot, to the camp before Fort St. George, he detached 600 Europeans, 1500 Sepoys, 300 European dragoons, 100 huſſars and a thouſand Marattas, with ten pieces of cannon, to attack the Engliſh camp on the mount, now under the chief command of Major Caillaud. Who, informed in the night, that the enemy was advancing in a powerful body, made the beſt diſpoſition of his infantry he was able, behind the garden walls, and drew up his cavalry on his right. Day-light diſcovered the enemy, and a ſevere cannonade began. The French cavalry inclined very faſt to the right, about 300 paces from the front of our left. They were the Europeans that puſhed on that ſide. The Sepoys endeavoured to occupy all the banks and places on our left, where they could be under cover. Attacked by a ſtrong detachment from the French camp.

As

A. D. 1759. As ſoon as their cavalry halted; ours were ordered to charge them immediately: and to ſee them advance for one hundred yards, they carried the appearance of the beſt troops upon earth: but as ſoon as the enemy moved to recieve them, their ſpirits failed, and they fled with the greateſt precipitation; and the ſlaughter in the purſuit might have totally ruined them, had not the French cavalry, too eagerly preſſing through an interval between the village and the foot of the mount, been ſtopped by a party of foot, which obliged them, with a briſk fire, to retreat. The left wing behaved much better. The village was well defended. It was twice taken and retaken; and at laſt, after a diſpute of three hours, it was loſt by the raſhneſs of the officer only, who commanded that poſt: who ſeeing the enemy retreat in ſome confuſion, indiſcreetly purſued, not obſerving a party, ready to ſupport them. That party ſtopt him, and drove him out of the village.

It was now about ten in the morning, when the enemy, tired of attacking, contented themſelves with cannonading the Engliſh ſeverely. But not being able to diſlodge them by that means, they renewed their attack about four. But it was too late to take effect. Major Caillaud had ſo ſtationed his muſketry behind the garden walls, that they could not advance through their fire; and having no ſtomach to continue the action upon ſuch diſadvantageous terms, they thought ſeriouſly of a retreat; which they effected without further loſs; moving off their artillery at the cloſe

Repulſed.

Retreats.

of

of the evening, and their whole body ſoon after [r]. A happy circumſtance for our troops, who had exhauſted all their ammunition for the artillery, and had very little left for the muſketry. Therefore the major embraced the opportunity: and in two hours after the enemy had left him the field of battle, Major Caillaud marched away for Changalaput, the only place, where he could be ſupplied. A. D. 1759. Major Caillaud retires alſo.

M. Lally had depended much upon the ſucceſs of this detachment, hoping that by cutting off the principal hopes of relief or aid from the beſieged, that the fort might be brought to terms of capitulation. So that his approaches and operations went on but very ſlowly. However, the garriſon took every precaution for defence, and tried every art to annoy the enemy. On the 29th a ſubaltern, with twenty-one men and ſome Sepoys, was ordered to ſally on the retrenchment and works, ſuppoſed to be carrying on by the enemy: but they ſallying before it was dark, were diſcovered, and obliged by a ſuperior force to retire, with ſome loſs. The ſame fate diſconcerted the propoſal of Jamaul Saib, commandant of the Sepoys; who undertook an attack upon St. Thomas. He was detached on this ſervice with ten companies of Sepoys: but taking the rout of Longbridge, he was fired upon by ſome French Sepoys, ſtationed in M. Powney's houſe. Which ſtruck his men with ſuch a panic, that moſt of Siege goes on.

[r] Their loſs on this occaſion was 170 Europeans killed and wounded, and about 300 Sepoys.

them

A. D. 1759.

them threw down their arms; and he was obliged to return. Several other ſallies were made on various occaſions and at different times, but with little or no effect. But our firing increaſed as the works of the enemy advanced.

M. Lally threatens to burn the Black Town.

On the 30th M. Lally ſent a flag of truce into the fort, with a letter complaining of their firing at his head quarters, and threatning to burn the Black Town in return. To which it was anſwered, That he had no right to complain, becauſe he was the firſt general, perhaps, that fixed his head quarters within point blank ſhot of the fort, and lodged a regiment and ammunition, at the ſame place.

Seized upon Sadraſs.

Having loſt all hopes of ſucceſs againſt the flying camp, M. Lally became more diligent in his works before the town, but met with a brave defence; and he ſeized upon Sadraſs, a Dutch ſettlement on the coaſt, equally diſtant from Pondicherry and Madraſs, for a place of arms and for his magazines. The polite French general, under a pretence of defending that ſettlement againſt any attempt to be made by the Engliſh, turned out the Dutch ſoldiers, and garriſoned it with French. The ſtate of Sadraſs being thus changed, Major Caillaud, after his forces were recruited and provided with ammunition, laid a plan to ſurprize it. The Major had 20 miles to march from Changalaput to Sadraſs; and ſet out with his troops about four o'clock in the morning. His guides miſſed their way in the dark night: which made their arrival in the neighbourhood of Sadraſs ſo

Major Caillaud diſappointed in his ſurprize of Sadraſs.

late

late in the day, that they were diſcovered, and the Major not having ſufficient ſtrength to attempt it by open force, was obliged to drop his deſign, and return without any other advantage than intercepting a letter ſent by M. Lally, by a particular meſſenger, to the governor of Pondicherry; in which he complains, amongſt other things, of his ſituation; That a breach had been made fifteen days, and his men all the time within fifteen toiſes of the wall of the place, and never holding up their heads to look at it. That of the 1500 Sepoys in his camp, near 800, and all the Coulis, did nothing more than carry ſugar, pepper, and other goods to Pondicherry. He acquaints him with his reſolution to ſet fire to the Black-town, and to blow up the powder mills. He adds what is greatly in the praiſe of the beſieged, That 50 French deſerters, and 100 Swiſs, of which he diminutively inſinuates the whole garriſon conſiſted, did actually ſtop the progreſs of 2000 men of the King's and company's troops. He aſſures him that his greateſt loſs had been in two combats and four battles, and in his batteries unſkilfully made. And concludes, that he was ſo diſſatisfied with his ſtation, "That he had rather command the "caffres of Madagaſcar, than remain in this So-"dom, which it is impoſſible, but that the fire of "the Engliſh muſt deſtroy, ſooner or later, even "tho' that from heaven ſhould not—I undertake "only to bring the army back, either to Arcot or "Sadraſs—I will quit it upon my arrival there."

A. D. 1759.

M. Lally's letter of complaints to the governor of Pondicherry.

A. D. 1759. The Black Town ſaved and the ſiege raiſed.

This letter plainly intimated his reſolution to raiſe the ſiege, as ſoon as he had burnt the Black town, &c. A miſchief not to be prevented without more reſiſtance, than could be made from the Fort. Therefore Major Caillaud marched back to ſuch a ſituation, as might enable him to be ready for any ſervice requiſite to favour the efforts of the garriſon. And the long expected reinforcement, of about 600 ſoldiers from England, arriving in the very interim (on the 16th of February) M. Lally, having nailed up all the guns in the Black-town, and deſtroyed the carriages of thoſe, that could not be got off without difficulty, made great fires in the trenches to cover his intentions; evacuated the approaches after a pretty ſmart fire from the muſketry; and in the morning he was ſeen marching out of the Black-town, without an opportunity to execute the wicked deſign of ſetting it on fire, being afraid of the ſtrength of the flying army again aſſembled in Mount St. Thomas, and the united force of the garriſon and of the troops from England, ſhould they take his retreating army between two fires.

Remarks.

Thus was raiſed the ſiege of Fort St. George, after the garriſon had been ſhut up 67 days, and the enemy's batteries had been open 66. In which we have ſome particulars worthy of obſervation. The garriſon in general diſtinguiſhed themſelves for their ſobriety, and emulated each other in their military duty. The artillery was ſo well ſerved, that two 12 pounders from the north ravelin diſmounted four 24 pounders oppoſed to them: out

of

of 32 pieces of cannon found on the enemy's batteries, 31 were diſabled by our ſhot. The works were kept in extraordinary good repair, and three guns with a ſtout parapet were maintained in the north eaſt baſtion all the time by a very few men. An addition was alſo made of a battery by the ſea ſide, and two pieces more were fired on the 16th of February, than on the 14th of December. And it muſt be mentioned to the honour of our nation, that a few raw men taken from the pioneer company, greatly out-did all the boaſted miners of the French; who threatned to blow whole baſtions into the air: for after the breaching battery was erected, thoſe raw men, never having ſeen any thing of the kind before, and without any previous preparation of ſtantions or tools, were ſet to open the counterſcarp, and by continued hard labour and perſeverance, carried a ſhaft 95 feet in length under the enemy's battery, where two chambers were made and loaded with 250 lb. of powder each. Not only a laborious, but a moſt hazardous undertaking; the ſhaft being carried on under the exploſion of the enemy's guns, which every day made the earth fall in. A. D. 1759.

M. Lally left behind him all his heavy cannon, about 40 pieces, and a large quantity of ſtores; which leſſened the French extremely in the opinion of the Indian Princes, with whom their intereſt ever after was upon the decline. But ſo brave a defence and deliverance did great honour to all concerned: particularly to Colonel Lawrence, who in the chief command, had the ſatisfaction to ſee Loſs of the French. Characters of the governor and officers.

A. D. 1759. all his ſervices in the country crowned by a moſt honourable defence of the capital ſettlement: and to Colonel Draper and Major Brereton, who nobly ſeconded the judgment and experience of their commander, by their bravery and conduct, within the fort; and to Major Caillaud, and Captain Preſton without. Mr. Pigot the governor contributed alſo greatly to their ſucceſs, by his prudent management of the ſtores, and the regularity which he preſerved by frequently viſiting all the poſts and rewarding merit upon the ſpot, where he found it due. Beſides he faithfully diſcharged his promiſe of 50,000 rupees, as an encouragement and reward to the garriſon for their good behaviour, in caſe they ſhould by their reſiſtance oblige the enemy to raiſe the ſiege: immediately after the enemy diſappeared the money was iſſued and diſtributed, two thirds to the Europeans, and one third to the Sepoys and Laſcars.

Colonel Lawrence's country houſe, &c. burnt by the French.

Though the Black-town eſcaped the deſtruction intended by M. Lally, he vented his reſentment of ſo great a diſgrace before Fort St. George, by the devaſtation he made on the mount, to which he marched directly; and ordered, amongſt other things unworthy of a ſoldier, Colonel Lawrence's country houſe to be blown up with three barrels of gun-powder. From the mount he proceeded without further delay, and arrived at Conjeveram next morning; where he began to fortify himſelf againſt a ſudden attack, in caſe of a purſuit. But, though our army might be in a condition, as to numbers, to give him battle, they found it impracticable

M. Lally retreats to Conjeveram.

practicable to follow and take the field for want of bullocks, cooleys and other neceſſaries. However, being provided at length, Colonel Lawrence, in the beginning of March, took the command in perſon of about 1400 Europeans, and the black army of Iſouf Cawn and the Nabob's brother. With theſe he ſought the enemy, and moved round Conjeveram, where the French continued, and expoſed his flank to provoke them to give him battle. But to no purpoſe. So that Colonel Lawrence diſpairing of an opportunity to give a final ſtroke to the French military power in India, his health not permitting him to continue longer in that climate, reſigned the command of the army to Major Brereton, having previouſly given leave to Colonel Draper, on account of his bad ſtate of health, alſo to ſail for England.

A. D. 1759.

Is followed by the Engliſh.

Colonel Lawrence and Colonel Draper return to England.

Major Brereton takes the command in chief.

Major Brereton, by ſitting down and opening ground before Wandewaſh, brought the French at laſt out of their fortifications, to the relief of Wandewaſh. They marched within nine miles of the Engliſh army. Major Brereton advanced between three and four miles towards them, where they remained two days under arms; and then by a maſterly ſtroke of generalſhip made a forced march in the night of the 12th of April towards Conjeveram, and entered that town next day; but did not reduce it without conſiderable loſs. For it was garriſoned with 500 black troops, commanded by Muſtapha Beg, an enterprizing partizan, who had withdrawn himſelf from Captain Preſton, and left the Engliſh ſervice during the

Provokes the French out of their ſtrong hold.

Surprizes Conjeveram.

How defended.

A. D. 1759. ſiege of Madraſs. This partizan retired to the pagoda with his corps; where he and moſt of them choſe to die, rather than ſurrender. By which obſtinacy the Engliſh loſt ſome men, but not in proportion to the officers, four of whom were killed. Beſides Major Caillaud was wounded in the cheek: Major Monſon received a wound that entered near his ear, paſſed through his cheek, and came out near his noſe, without finding any great inconvenience from it: and Major Brereton received a contuſion in his knee, which laid him up for ſome time.

Loſs of the Engliſh.

Importance of this conqueſt.

This conqueſt, which ſtripped the French of their principal ſupplies of ſtores, baggage, and neceſſaries, increaſed their diſguſt and diſcontent into almoſt a real mutiny, for want of cloathing and pay. The deſertion of the infantry was very great: and 50 huſſars went over to the Engliſh camp: which laid the foundation of raiſing a corps of thoſe uſeful ſoldiers. However M. Lally, for the preſent, having contrived to cloath his men during his ſtay, about a month, at Cauvery-Pauk; and informed that the Engliſh at Conjeveram were left by Iſouf Cawn and the Nabob's brother, thought his men would be inclined for action, and decamped once more to attack Major Brereton. At the ſame time the Engliſh marched towards Cauvery-Pauk: and they met unexpectedly in the way. Major Brereton had marched with a deſign to attack the enemy: but it unfortunately happened, that in a march of eight miles, ſix recruits fell down dead, and 90 were taken ill and

Sickneſs in the Engliſh army.

rendered unfit for ſervice by the inclement heat; which at this ſeaſon was moſt intenſe. Such an unforeſeen accident obliged the Major to retreat back to Conjeveram. This encouraged M. Lally to advance within three miles of this town. So that notwithſtanding the diſorder occaſioned by the climate ſpread itſelf much, and the major himſelf was affected by it, the Engliſh could not reconcile to their ſenſe of honour, to be ſhut up within walls, when an enemy was daring them to come out. Therefore Major Monſon led them out; and though the French had 1800 Europeans, he ſuſtained two attacks, repulſed the enemy in both, with ſo much advantage, that M. Lally, being convinced, that there was no real diſpoſition in his army to fight, decamped in the night, and marched 20 miles to Trivatour: where he ſeparated his army, ſending them into cantonments, and went himſelf to Pondicherry.

A. D. 1759.

Attacked by the French without ſucceſs.

During the ſiege of Madraſs, M. Lally met with the mortification of the rejoicings in the garriſon for the victory gained by Colonel Forde over the French army under the Marquis de Conflans, and the reduction of Rajamundry in Golconda [u]. Colonel Forde was reſolved to make the moſt of his ſucceſs; and not to leave the French one inch of ground to ſtand upon in this province. But he wanted money to pay his troops and to provide for their march, which was by agreement to be ſupplied by the Raja, who had ſolicited the aid of

Colonel Forde's progreſs in Golconda.

[u] See page 304, &c. Vol. III.

A. D. 1759. the Engliſh. The Colonel with much trouble and delay did, at laſt, prevail with the Indian chief to perform his agreement, and to take the field about the middle of January 1759; and having appointed Captain Briſtol governor for him at Rajamundry, he marched with the Engliſh army for Maſſulipatam. Colonel Forde took the direct road and halted at Elore, on the 6th of February, for the Raja, who marched out of the line to raiſe contributions. While the Engliſh halted at Elore, Colonel Forde detached Captain Knox, with 100 Europeans and a body of Sepoys, to reduce the French factory at Narſipore, about 20 miles from thence; which detachment was accompanied with a menacing letter from the Colonel, threatning the Raja of that place to deſtroy his whole country in caſe he offered to reſiſt the Engliſh, or give the French any aſſiſtance: and offering proper encouragement for him to enter into our alliance. Which had its deſired effect. The Raja of Narſipore repaired to the Engliſh camp, and promiſed not only to favour, but to join his forces with ours in a few days. So that though M. Panneau, the French chief at that ſettlement, ſeemed at firſt determined to defend his poſt, he now judged it moſt adviſeable to ſend away the company's property in boats to Maſſulipatam, and the garriſon to join the remains of M. de Conflans's army, which conſiſting of 250 Europeans, 2000 Sepoys, and four pieces of cannon, kept always in front to diſtreſs and retard our march, by harraſſing

Narſipore ſurprized and taken.

raſſing the country, and was now encamped about 40 miles off. A. D. 1759.

When Colonel Forde took poſſeſſion of Narſipore he found only two 24 pounders, three 12 pounders, ſome ſmall guns, and ſeveral veſſels, boats, and ſea-ſtores: for M. Panneau had ſunk all the ammunition in the river.

The Raja's army having levied contributions, joined the Engliſh on the 18th at Narſipore; and they, augmented with the forces of the Raja of Narſipore, marched next day in queſt of the enemy; and on the 26th forced the ſmall fort of Cancalle, defended by a ſerjeant, 13 Europeans, and two companies of Sepoys; who, having orders to maintain the poſt at all events, refuſed quarter and were put to the ſword. The French general had detached 40 Europeans and ſome Sepoys to reinforce this ſmall fort: but they came too late: and when the Marquis ſaw the Engliſh army approaching the ground, on which he was intrenched, about two miles from Maſſulipatam, he was ſo much ſurprized, that neglecting the advantages of his ſituation, he retreated rather than hazard another action. He retired into the fort: and the Engliſh army entered the camp he had abandoned. In which march the Engliſh had ſuffered conſiderably for want of ſupplies, which had been cut off by an army of obſervation, that laid between them and Rajamundry; and, at laſt, had obliged Captain Briſtol to ſurrender that important fort; where the enemy ſeized the baggage and effects of the officers, that were left there, and made 20 Europeans

Fort Cancalle taken.

The French retire into Maſſulipatam.

The French reduce Rajamundry.

A. D. 1759.

ropeans, and 40 Sepoys priſoners; and, though they got no money, which the governor had conveyed by water to Cockanara, this diſappointed the army of their pay.

Maſſulipatam inveſted.

Colonel Forde loſt no time. He inveſted Maſſulipatam on the 7th of March, with the animating advice, which he that day received, of M. Lally's departure from before Madraſs. The approaches were carried on till the 6th of April. The town was bombarded, and a great many houſes were deſtroyed. Several breaches were made in the baſtions: but ſoon filled up by the numerous garriſon; till the commander of the artillery informed the Colonel that no more than two days ammunition remained, having expended above 400 barrels of powder, with ſhot and ſhells in proportion. He then remonſtrated that the batteries would not be able to do any more than to open the breaches again, as before, in the courſe of that day's firing. This reduced the Colonel to the dilemma either to attempt to take the place by a coup de main, or by ſtorm, that ſame evening, or to raiſe the ſiege and march off. He choſe to ſtorm the town in breach. The diſpoſitions were fixed: the whole army was under arms at 10 at night: and the Europeans were ordered for the effectual ſervice. But in order to divert the attention of the beſieged, two feint attacks were to be made; one by Captain Knox, who was ordered to march in the duſk of the evening, with 700 of the firſt battalion of Sepoys, round the town to the weſtward; to draw as near the walls

Taken by ſtorm.

Three attacks.

walls as poſſible, and to begin their fire exactly at 12 o'clock: the other by the Raja of Viſanapore, with 4000 of his own forces, whoſe directions were to attack by the gate way, and on the front of the detached ravelin; to follow Captain Knox's fire, and to alarm and perplex the garriſon as much as poſſible, by firing of cannon, ſmall arms, rockets, &c. The real attack upon the baſtions, where the breaches had been made, was committed to the bravery and conduct of the European battalion [w], ſupported by a part of the artillery taken from the batteries, 30 gunners, as many ſeamen from the Hardwicke, and 700, or the ſecond battalion of Sepoys, with two field pieces. A. D. 1759.

Captain Knox and the Raja began to fire according to their inſtructions: and while the garriſon were diſtracted by thoſe attacks, the grand party croſſed the moraſs, which ſurrounds the whole town, and gained the ditch before they were diſcovered. The grenadiers and two battalions of Sepoys puſhed for one of the baſtions, where the breach had been made: the battalion of Europeans, ſeamen and gunners, made to the others. Both parties paſt through a ſhower of ſmall arms and grape ſhot from the flanks of the baſtions: and returned the fire by the muſketry, that drove the enemy from the breaches: though they kept up a ſmart fire from the other works. It was not practicable to get the field pieces over

[w] Three hundred and twelve men.

the

A. D. 1759. the ditch. But the officer and men belonging to the artillery diſdaining a ſtate of inaction, when every hand was required, and their fellow ſoldiers were driving the enemy before them, left the cannon, entered the town with the reſt of the troops, and did great ſervice by turning the enemy's own guns againſt them. Thus they fought, gaining baſtion after baſtion, till they approached the gate way, and cut off their communication from the detached ravelin.

A terrible carnage enſued: no quarter being given in ſuch caſes. The marquis had no way left to ſtop the fury of the aſſailants, but immediate ſubmiſſion, and ſent an officer to aſk quarter for the garriſon. To which Colonel Forde replied, by a captain whom he ſent with the French meſſenger to the marquis, "That he could not give quarter, "while there was reſiſtance made in any part, and "that unleſs the beſieged would immediately "ceaſe firing, and ſurrender themſelves, he ſhould "be obliged, for his own ſafety, to put the whole "garriſon to the ſword." This had its effect: the fire ceaſed in about half an hour: the French quitted their arms and repaired to the arſenal: and the main body of the Engliſh repaired to the eſplanade: and a guard of 100 Europeans, and two companies of Sepoys, with two pieces of cannon, was placed over the priſoners, that night. But next day the Colonel gave the gentlemen liberty to walk about the town, upon their paroles, and granted them all their effects, except private trade, which was ſecured by the captors.

French aſk quarter.

Upon what terms granted.

The

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The loſs of the enemy on this occaſion has been always accounted very great; but it could never be aſcertained: though it appears by the muſter rolls [x], that there were upwards of 100 Europeans ſlain during the ſiege and ſtorm. There were taken above 150 pieces of cannon, one 32, and five 24 pounders, and a great quantity of ammunition. A. D. 1759. Loſs of the enemy.

How great a blow this gave to the French intereſt, and the importance in which this place was held by the French, can't better appear than by the efforts they made to preſerve Maſſulipatam. For, though their forces already were almoſt double the number of Colonel Forde's, the governor of Pondicherry embarked 400 Europeans to reinforce M. Conflans. But they did not arrive in the road of that city till the 15th of April, a few days after it had ſurrendered to the Engliſh. The importance of this ſervice. Succours arrive too late.

Thoſe troops were on board the Briſtol and the Harlem taken from the Dutch. But as ſoon as the Hardwicke Indiaman deſcryed theſe ſhips making into the road with French colours, ſhe got under way, made ready and engaged them about an hour, under the command of Mr. Samſon, the firſt mate, (his brother the captain being aſhore) till he could get to the windward; where he caſt anchor, and took the captain on board, while the enemy were beating up after him. The captain bravely determined not to lie expoſed to an enemy, but to fight his way through them, and to make Bravery of the Hardwicke Indiaman.

[x] On the 6th of March contained 522 Europeans, 2089 Caffrees, Topaſſes, and Sepoys.

the

A. D. 1759. the beſt of his way to Bengal, with ſuch priſoners as he had already on board, having contracted for a large number: but had no more than forty embarked. The enemy's largeſt ſhip got under ſail at the ſame time as the Hardwicke, and both of them exchanged broadſides with Captain Sampſon; but gave over the chace, when they found it was in vain to purſue: beſides, it was leading them from their commiſſion, which was, to land the troops to reinforce the Marquis de Conflans, they not having, as yet, heard of the fate of the place. So that, when they were come to anchor, M. Moracin, who commanded the troops, ſent a boat aſhore in the night to the Marquis, for inſtructions, when to diſembark the men. Which returned with an account of the ſurrender of the place and garriſon to the Engliſh. M. Moracin ſailed immediately for Ganjam, to wait the monſoon, till the beginning of November, for his return to Pondicherry.

Behaviour of the Eaſtern princes.

The good effects of this conqueſt were preſently felt by the Engliſh. The policy of the Eaſtern princes being to wait the iſſue of their neighbours quarrels, and to take part with the ſtrongeſt ſide; Salabatzing, who had been always afraid of the French power, had looked on, and advanced with his army to about forty miles from Maſſulipatam, ſome days before it was taken, with a ſort of neutral indifference, no ſooner heard of the diſgrace of the French at Madraſs and this place, but he earneſtly ſought for the friendſhip of the Engliſh; and, on the 14th of May, ſigned a treaty,

a treaty, whereby he gave, as a free gift to the Engliſh company, the circar of Maſſulipatam, with eight diſtricts, the circar of Nizampatum, and the diſtricts of Codaver and Wacalmanner, and granted them ſaneds, in the ſame manner as he had done to the French: that he would oblige the French troops then in his country (the Deckan) to croſs the Ganges, or ſend them to Pondicherry, or to ſome other place out of the Deckan country, on the other ſide of the river Kriſtna. That he would never more ſuffer them to ſettle in his country, on any account whatever, nor keep them in his ſervice, nor aſſiſt them, nor call them to his own aſſiſtance. He diſcharged the Raja of Viſanapore from any demands, on account of the contributions he had raiſed in the circars belonging to the French, and from the revenues of his own country, in the preſent year, allowing him to remain peaceably in it, upon the computation of the revenue paid by his grandfather, and father. He concluded with a promiſe not to aſſiſt the enemies of the Engliſh, nor to give them protection, on condition the Engliſh ſhould not aſſiſt his enemies, nor give them protection.

A. D. 1759.

Salabatzing's treaty with the Engliſh company.

This was not the only inſtance of the falling off of the Indian princes. Narrainda, a Raja near Ganjam, apprized of the arrival of a French body of troops at that port, and of the true reaſon of their ſeeking refuge in his diſtrict, ſhewed his diſlike to the French by every ſcheme he could deviſe, to cut them off by the ſword, by famine, or by poiſon. By which diſtreſſes their numbers greatly decreaſed,

The diſtreſs of the French at Ganjam.

A. D. 1759. decreaſed, others deſerted: and when they had neither proviſions nor money left, the country people left them to the diſtance of a league all round, and ſhunned them as they would the plague. Death, in theſe circumſtances, was rather to be choſen than endleſs miſery. It was reſolved, by the reſidue, to commit themſelves to the mercy of the waves. Mr. Moracin, with his nephew and ſecretary, entruſted themſelves in a boat, and arrived, about the middle of December, at Pouliacat, in his way to Pondicherry. The men, about two hundred in all, embarked in the ſame manner for Cockanara; where ſome of them landed, and prevailed with a Raja and ſome of the people of the country to join them. But Captain Fiſher attacked them, took ten officers, a Raja, and ſixteen Europeans, and killed ſeveral more. They that remained on board made the beſt of their way for Pondicherry: but many of them were ſwallowed up in the ſea.

Defeated at Cockanara.

Notwithſtanding the miſcarriages and misfortunes of the French before Madraſs, at Conjeveram and in Golconda, this year, it appears that they had a great ſuperiority of land forces, eſpecially Europeans, on whoſe ſtrength their ſucceſs chiefly depended. The ſame attention had been paid by their principals at home, for providing a ſuperiority by ſea, not only in men, but in ſhips and metal. M. d'Ache, who had ran away from Admiral Pocock in Auguſt laſt [y], was ſtrongly reinforced. His fleet, this year, was augmented

French fleet reinforced.

[y] See page 291. Vol. III.

to

to eleven ſail of large ſhips [z]; two frigates and two ſtore-ſhips. So extraordinary a naval force had never been yet ſeen in the Indian ſeas. A. D. 1759.

This fleet rendezvouſed at the iſlands of Mauritius and Bourbon; of which the Engliſh admiral having advice, he, after refitting his ſquadron, ſailed on the 17th of April 1759, for the coaſt of Coromandel, and with a diligence and dexterity, that appears in every undertaking, where this admiral has had the chief direction, the ſquadron got round the Iſland of Ceylon before the French had taken their departure from the iſlands; and ſtationed his ſhips in ſuch a manner, as to intercept the enemy and to protect the trade. As it was not poſſible for the French to eſcape his vigilance, the admiral reſolved to keep this ſtation, though his patience was ſufficiently tried by their procraſtination. The want of proviſions and water obliged him at laſt to quit his ſtation, and to proceed to Trincomalay, on the firſt of September, not being able to water at Negapatam. But with this previous caution to diſpatch the Revenge frigate, to look out for the enemy off Ceylon. Admiral Pocock lies to intercept them.

At ten in the morning of the ſecond of September, the French fleet was deſcried from the maſt-head, and the Revenge chaced by one of They appear.

[z] Le Zodiaque, 74 guns, 660 men; Minataur, ditto; Le Comte de Provence, ditto; Le Centaur, 70 guns, 660 men; L'Actif, 64 guns, 600 men; L'Illuſtre, ditto; La Fortune; ditto; La Vengeur, 64 guns, 500 men; Le Duc d'Orleans, 60 guns, 500 men; Le St. Louis, ditto; Le Duc de Bourgogne, ditto.

A. D. 1759.

their frigates. The admiral immediately threw out the ſignal for a general chace, and ſtood towards the enemy with all the ſail he could make; though much inferior in ſhips, men and metal[a]. His whole ſtrength was no more than nine ſhips of the line, two of which were ſixty gun ſhips, and the largeſt carried no more than ſixty-eight, viz.

Signal to chace them.

English fleet.

	Guns.	Men.	Commanders.
The Yarmouth	66	540	Vice-Adm. Pocock. Captain Harriſon.
Grafton	68	538	Rear-Adm. Stevens. Captain Kempenfelt.
Elizabeth	64	480	Capt. Tiddeman.
Tyger	60	420	—— Brereton.
Sunderland	60	420	—— Colville.
Weymouth	60	420	—— Sir William Baird, Bart.
[b] Cumberland	58	520	—— Somerſet.
Newcaſtle	50	350	—— Michie.
Saliſbury	50	350	—— Dent.

Three frigates and a fire-ſhip.

The French endeavour to avoid an engagement.

The frigate, in chace of the Revenge, diſcovering the Engliſh fleet, rejoined her own ſquadron: which, inſtead of embracing ſo fair an opportunity to try the fortune of their ſuperior force, edged off, and endeavoured to ſteal away undiſcovered under favour of the night; the wind falling off, preventing the Engliſh coming up with

[a] The French had a ſuperiority of 192 guns, and 2365 men, beſides the great advantage in the ſize of their ſhips.

[b] Reduced from 66 to 58 guns, having been diſabled.

them

them before dark. However, the Revenge was ordered to ſail to the ſouth-eaſt, and not to loſe ſight of them, if poſſible. This had the deſired effect. About eleven o'clock at night the Revenge made a ſignal for diſcovering the enemy; and then the whole fleet bore down towards them. But this good intention was diſappointed again by a ſqual, which came very heavy from one till three next morning, and obliged the Engliſh fleet to bring to, and clew up their top-ſails. The enemy, at day-light, was again diſcovered, bearing north-eaſt by north, about five or ſix leagues diſtant. Admiral Pocock made the ſignal for a general chace to the north-eaſt, Point Pedro, on the Iſland of Ceylon, bearing weſt ſix or ſeven leagues; and continued to gain upon the enemy; who, about nine, finding it was in vain to truſt entirely to the ſwiftneſs of their ſailing, bore north-eaſt by eaſt, and formed in line of battle a-head, on the ſtar-board tack, with the wind about weſt north-weſt. Therefore Admiral Pocock made the ſignal for the line of battle a-breaſt, and ſtood for the centre of the enemy's fleet, which kept under way, and appeared to go from the wind. By this means their bearings were greatly altered; for by noon they bore ſouth-eaſt by eaſt, diſtant ſix or ſeven miles: and the wind decreaſing as the day advanced, and the Newcaſtle and Tyger being very bad ſailors, it was very late in the day, and near ſun-ſet before the line could be formed.

A. D. 1759. Are purſued.

In this poſition it was hoped the enemy might have been fixt and brought to an engagement.

A. D. 1759. But M. d'Aché had no ſuch intention. His ſcheme was to avoid the danger of a cloſe chace, by forming the line to ſooth us with an expectation of a battle; and when we had dropt the chace, and formed the line, to avoid coming to blows, till a favourable breeze, or night, might deliver them out of our reach. Thus, about a quarter after five, the Engliſh ſquadron being nearly a-breaſt of the enemy, they wore, and came to the wind on the other tack; upon which our ſhips tackt, the rear firſt, and ſteered with the enemy's ſquadron, about four miles diſtance. There was little wind, ſcarce ſteerage-way, till near ten o'clock: when a freſh gale ſprang up from the north-weſt. The admiral ordered to haul cloſe to the wind under top-ſails, and to form the line a-head. This ſhift of wind brought the enemy a-ſtern; and a little upon the weather quarter of our line. But they ſoon diſappeared; the weather proving hazy: and though the Revenge looked out a-ſtern with her uſual diligence; ſhe could gain no intelligence of their ſituation. But by running a-head, ſhe next morning, about eight o'clock, made a ſignal for ſeeing four ſail to the north-eaſt. The admiral made the ſignal for a general chace: but after ſix hours, ſeeing no more than two ſhips, and that he could not come up with thoſe, he called in the Revenge, and ſtood to the northward with all his ſquadron; and ſuppoſing that the French fleet was bound for Pondicherry, he made all the ſail he could to that

port

port alſo; and arrived in the offing about eight hours before M. d'Aché. A. D. 1759.

This was on the eighth of September. The French fleet appeared about one o'clock at noon, in the ſouth-eaſt, ſtanding to the ſouth with a ſea breeze. A good look-out was kept that night, to prevent the French paſſing by. They appeared next morning about nine, in the ſouth-weſt. But there was no wind till about two in the afternoon; when Admiral Pocock feeling the wind ſpring up, made the ſignal for a general chace. The enemy, at four, formed in line of battle a-breaſt, and ſteered right down upon him: but night coming on; the enemy took the opportunity to ſheer away. The Revenge was ordered to watch their motions: and on the tenth, at ſix in the morning, the French ſquadron bore ſouth-eaſt by ſouth, diſtant eight or nine miles, formed in a line of battle a-head on the ſtar-board tack; in all ſixteen ſail. The Engliſh bore down on them, in a line of battle a-breaſt, with the wind north-weſt by weſt. At ten the enemy wore and formed the line a-head upon the larboard-tack. The Engliſh did the ſame at eleven, and kept edging down upon them: and at two in the afternoon, the Yarmouth being nearly a-breaſt the French admiral's ſecond in rear, and within muſquet-ſhot, M. d'Aché made the ſignal for battle. Admiral Pocock did the ſame, and the action began with a furious canonade on each ſide, which continued very hot till four; when the enemy's rear, and ſoon after their center, began to give way. Their

An engagement.

Defeated.

A. D. 1759. van made ſail, ſtood on, and with their whole ſquadron bore away and ſteered to the S. S. E. with all the ſail they could croud; and our ſhips not being in a condition to purſue, the enemy not having ſuffered ſo much damage in their rigging, gained their chief point, which was to get into Pondicherry.

Damage of the Engliſh. The inability of our ſquadron to purſue is accounted for, by the damages ſuſtained on board the Tyger, whoſe mizen maſt and main-top maſt were ſhot away, and the ſhip otherwiſe much diſabled: on board the Newcaſtle, whoſe maſts, yards, and rigging were greatly injured. The Yarmouth's fore-top-ſail yard was ſhot away in the ſlings: and though the Grafton and Elizabeth loſt no maſts, nor yards, they were greatly diſabled in them and their rigging. Beſides the Cumberland and Saliſbury in the rear were not in a condition to make ſail. So that the Weymouth and Sunderland were the only ſhips, that had not ſuffered; becauſe they could not get properly into action; M. d'Aché having begun to engage before they could cloſe; and by that means were thrown out of action; the whole heat of the battle falling upon ſeven of our ſhips; which ſuſtained the whole fire of the enemy's fleet till near the concluſion, when the Sutherland having got up engaged the ſternmoſt ſhip.

Bravery and conduct of Admiral Pocock. However, Admiral Pocock, while he laid with his ſquadron on the larboard tack, in order for his larboard ſhips to repair their damages, detached the Revenge to keep between him and the enemy, and

and to obſerve their motions, who retreated to the ſouthward till dark. They appeared at day-light next morning to the S. S. E. laying too on their larboard tacks alſo, about four leagues diſtant. But on ſeeing the Engliſh ſquadron, they immediately wore and brought to, on the other tack. They in the evening being got almoſt out of ſight, and the wind ſpringing up to the eaſtward, Admiral Pocock made the ſignal, wore, and ſtood under an eaſy ſail to the N. W. the Sunderland taking the Newcaſtle, the Weymouth the Tyger, and the Elizabeth the Cumberland in tow. A. D. 1759. The French run away.

The enemy not being found, Admiral Pocock, after cruiſing off of Negapatam till the 15th, ſtood into the road and anchored: where the ſquadron continued till the 26th, except the Revenge, which was diſpatched with letters to the governor and council of Madraſs; when being refitted as well as time would permit, the ſquadron weighed at five in the morning, and received by the return of the Revenge a recruit of 63 ſeamen, which came very opportunely to replace the men loſt on board the Newcaſtle and Tyger. Admiral Pocock prepares and purſues them.

In this condition our brave Admiral proceeded once more in queſt of the enemy: and found them on the 27th, at day-light in the morning, under the guns of Pondicherry, and at anchor in a line of battle. The Engliſh were not in a condition to attack both the ſhips and the fort. But to convince the Frenchmen of their real intention, they drew into a line of battle a-head on the ſtarboard tack; and the wind being off ſhore and about

A. D. 1759. W. S. W. they laid with their main-top-ſails to the maſt, juſt keeping a proper ſteerage way for the line to continue well formed. The French admiral at ſix o'clock made the ſignal to heave a-peake; and an hour after to weigh. By that time all their ſquadron, which conſiſted of 11 ſail of the line and two frigates, got under ſail, it was near 10 o'clock: when the Engliſh ſquadron was to leeward of them, expecting they would bear down directly and engage. But M. d'Aché made the ſignal to keep cloſe to the wind; to make ſail, and to ſtretch away to the ſouthward, in a line of battle a-head. By which method of acting, the French had got four leagues to windward at ſun ſet. Whereas, had they cut or ſlipt their cables on firſt diſcovering the Engliſh, or had they, after got under ſail, bore directly down, they might have been cloſe along-ſide at 11. This diſinclination to come to a ſecond action, prevailed with Admiral Pocock to call, and to take the opinion of a council of war, for his future operations. Who unanimouſly agreed, That as the preſent condition of the fleet (which had no more bread than for two days, and very little water on board) would not permit them to follow M. d'Aché to the ſouthward, it was moſt adviſeable to proceed to Madraſs. Which was accordingly effected; and the whole fleet anchored there on the 28th: where he was ſo well ſupplied with neceſſaries for his voyage to Bombay, his intended port, before the change of the monſoon, then near at hand (at which ſeaſon it is very hazardous

French fly again.

Admiral Pocock ſails for Madraſs.

for

for ſhips on that coaſt); and his ſick and wounded were ſo well recovered, that he ſailed from Madraſs on the 17th of October. A. D. 1759.

In this engagement both ſides ſuffered conſiderably. The damage done to the Engliſh men of war has been already deſcribed. But that was the leaſt loſs. There were 118 men ſlain in the action, and 66 died of their wounds: 122 more were dangerouſly wounded: and 263 ſlightly wounded. In the whole 569 men killed and wounded. Captain Machie of the Newcaſtle, Captain Gore of the marines, Lieutenant Redſhaw in the ſame ſhip, Lieutenant Elliot and the gunner of the Tyger, the maſter of the Yarmouth, and the Boatſwain of the Elizabeth, were all amongſt the ſlain. Captain Somerſet of the Cumberland, received a wound in one of his ancles, and Captain Burton a contuſion in his head. And when this account of the action has been read, there will need no words to perſuade poſterity that all the officers and ſeamen could never have reſiſted, dared, and defeated an enemy of ſo great a ſuperiority in ſtrength, without the greateſt vigour, conſtancy, bravery and ſpirit. Loſs.

Theſe proſperous actions and their good effects had well nigh been totally defeated, and the Eaſt India company ruined, by a treacherous attempt made from Batavia upon our ſettlements in Bengal. Either the Dutch were engaged underhand with the French to divide our forces in thoſe regions beyond the line, and thereby to facilitate their operations; to force our army from Golconda. Remarks on the behaviour of the Dutch.

A. D. 1759. da, and to weaken our fortreſſes on the coaſt of Coromandel, by lighting up a new war upon the coaſt of the Ganges: imagining this to be the moſt probable time to wreſt from us the whole trade of Salt Petre, when our fleet was employed to watch the French ſquadron, and to cover the Engliſh trade in the Indian ocean; and the ſtrength of Calcutta and its dependencies had been brought very low by the detachments under Major Forde, and upon other ſervices; a trade, which they had long envied and ſought after by many practices with the Nabob: or intending, in caſe of ſucceſs, to hold the Engliſh ſettlements and effects, thus treacherouſly invaded, under the name of reprizals for the confiſcation of the Dutch ſhips taken and condemned by our court of admiralty, for carrying on an illicit trade with and for our enemies in Europe: or, whether induced by all theſe motives, the government of Batavia formed a ſcheme to ſend up the Ganges ſuch a body of troops, under a pretence of reinforcing their ſtrong fort and ſettlement of Chincery or Chincura in the river of Bengal, as would be able to ſecure to themſelves not only all the trade in ſalt-petre, but to extirpate the Engliſh, and to engroſs the whole commerce of the province of Bengal.

Treachery of the Dutch.

For this purpoſe they embarked near 700 Europeans and 600 Malays on board of ſeveral ſhips. But this had not been conducted with that ſecreſy, as ſo wicked a deſign required to hide it from the factory of Bengal. So that Major Forde was recalled from Golconda, and a requiſition was made

to

to the government of Fort St. George for further aid and assistance; who sent a reinforcement of 300 men, under the command of Major Caillaud, commander there of the company's forces: and upon the first appearance of two ships of 36 guns each, full of men, that arrived in the Ganges under the name of transports, Colonel Clive called upon by the Nabob for assistance to prevent the debarkation of the Dutch troops, sent a letter to the Dutch commodore, informing him, That he could not allow him to land any forces, or to march them up to Chincery; and that he had from good authority been acquainted with their intentions. At the same time the Nabob assembled his forces, and promised to support the English against any violent attempt made by the Dutch or any other nation. But his future conduct was very inconsistent with this promise, and gave a shrewed suspicion of his being privy to, and abetting the Dutch scheme. A. D. 1759.

The Dutch commodore, not being as yet in a condition to act with power, had the address to answer mildly, That he had never intended to march any forces to Chincery; and only desired permission to land his men, down the river for refreshment. Colonel Clive readily consented to this request, provided that they were not to offer to march further than the quarters assigned on the shore. But the other five Dutch ships appointed for that service, arriving in the interim, the commodore, forgetful of his engagements, when he thought himself in a condition to act as Invade Bengal.

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A. D. 1759. he pleaſed, put on an air of reſentment for the pretended injury he had received, in not being permitted to go up the river with his armed force, and threatned to do himſelf juſtice by force of arms. For this purpoſe he ordered his troops now aſhore, near Tannah Fort, to make the beſt of their way to Chincery, and his ſhips to uſe the beſt of their endeavours to ſeize every Engliſh ſhip, that ſhould appear upon the river.

Seize Engliſh ſhips.

This act of hoſtility inforced the ſame day, by the ſeizure of ſeveral ſmall veſſels belonging to the company, convinced the Engliſh, that nothing but force and vigour would be able to protect them from the deſtruction, the Dutch were reſolved to bring upon them. Therefore Colonel Forde was immediately ordered, with all the military in Calcutta, to proceed to the French Gardens, and to prevent the Dutch party's getting into Chincery. Colonel Forde advanced towards the northward of Chandanagore, and as his advanced guard entered that town, it was fired upon by a detachment of Dutch, who had marched out of Chincery in order to join and ſtrengthen the party expected from their ſhips. This brought on a general action, which ended with the loſs of 40 Dutchmen killed and taken, and of five pieces of cannon, which was their whole train.

Colonel Forde takes the field againſt the Dutch.

A battle by land.

The day after the Dutch had taken the ſmall veſſels, they threatned to ſink the Calcutta Indiaman, Captain Wilſon, who fell down the river in order to proceed for England; in caſe he perſiſted in his reſolution to paſs their ſhips. Captain

The Calcutta Indiaman ſtopt.

Wilſon was then abreaſt of the Dutch commodore, who hailed him on that occaſion, and told him that he was acting agreeable to his orders. Captain Wilſon ſeeing the Dutch ſhips getting ready for action, or rather for his deſtruction, and convinced that they were in earneſt, he very prudently ſailed back to Calcutta, and informed Colonel Clive of his being ſtopt. There were at this time the Duke of Dorſet, Captain Forreſter, and the Hardwicke, Captain Samſon, at Culcutta. Colonel Clive immediately ordered theſe two Indiamen to join Captain Wilſon's ſhip, and all three to arm with the utmoſt expedition, and to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to take, burn or ſink every Dutch ſhip or ſhips they ſhould meet with.

A. D. 1759.

Three Indiamen ordered to arm and fight the Dutch ſquadron.

Theſe three Indiamen being equipped for war, their quarters lined with bags of ſaltpetre, to ſkreen the men from ſhot, and having, each of them, taken on board two additional 12 pounders, they fell down the river. As they came in ſight of the enemy, the Dutch drew up in a line of battle [c] to receive them. The three Engliſh ſhips, as they approached followed their example, and formed in a line alſo: Captain Wilſon, who on this extraordinary occaſion was commodore, ſeeing the Duke of Dorſet neareſt the enemy, fired a gun as a ſignal for her to begin the engagement, which ſhe immediately did; and came to an anchor cloſe to the enemy. But the wind happening in that very inſtant almoſt to die away, without which

Strength of the Dutch ſhips.

Engagement begun.

[c] Three ſhips of 36 guns, three ſhips of 26 guns, one ſhip of 16 guns.—In all, 202 guns.

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A. D. 1759. he could not be properly ſeconded by his two companions, Captain Forreſter was obliged for a conſiderable time to engage alone cloſe to the enemy, and to bear the heat of their fire in a dead calm.

Dutch defeated. But when the other two Indiamen got up to their conſort, they poured their ſhot in ſuch ſhowers, and with ſo great dexterity upon the enemy, that, though the Dutch returned their fire with great briſkneſs, two of their ſhips were obliged to ſlip their cables, and run: another having his cable cut by a croſs ſhot, drove aſhore. A few more broadſides obliged the commodore to ſtrike to Captain Wilſon: and the other three followed his example, after a hot engagement for two hours and five minutes.

Remarks. There certainly never was an action by ſea performed with greater reſolution, nor with more expence of powder and ball, nor could any ſhip be worſe treated than the Duke of Dorſet and ſwim: ſhe had about 90 ſhot in her hull, and almoſt tore to pieces: yet there was ſuch a providential diſparity in the loſs of both ſides, that nothing can account for this victory and the preſervation of the Engliſh, than the over-ruling power, which is able to defend the injured, though ever ſo weak; and to puniſh the wicked and perfidious, though ever ſo ſtrong.---

Tell poſterity; record it amongſt the marvelous,
That the Engliſh ſhips did not loſe one man.

But when Capt. Wilſon went on board the Dutch ſhips ſoon after they had ſtruck, he found them a moſt ſhocking ſight; their decks were covered with dead bodies, and every thing beſpattered with blood

blood and brains: he ſaw 30 dead bodies thrown overboard out of one ſhip: and had reaſon to think their loſs in men, killed and wounded, amounted to ſome hundreds. The reſt were made priſoners and carried up to Colonel Clive, and all their ſhips were ſeized. A. D. 1759.

While this was diſputed by the ſhipping, the Dutch forces, according to their orders, marched for Chincery, with expectation of being joined in their rout by the party detached from that fort, but had been entirely cut off by Colonel Forde; who reaking with the blood of the enemy at Chandanagore, on the 24th of November, had intelligence, that ſame evening, of the arrival of the Dutch forces from the ſhips, near to Chincery. He marched, next morning, to intercept them: and was ſo fortunate as to meet them on a plain, at ſome diſtance from Chincery. The Dutch army, conſiſting at this time of near 700 Europeans and 600 Buggeſſes, or Malays, formed in a line of battle, and advanced with great reſolution: but they received ſo ſmart a fire from Colonel Forde's artillery and battalion, that they, in a ſhort time, gave way, and were totally put to rout. The ſucceſs of this action alſo greatly exceeded the expectations of the victorious: for, though the number of Europeans in the Engliſh army was very ſmall, very few of the enemy eſcaped being killed [d] or taken priſoners. A victory the more happy for the Engliſh, becauſe

Defeated by land.

Strength of the Dutch army.

Loſs.

[d] Four hundred were killed on the ſpot.

had

A. D. 1759.

had it gone otherwiſe, in all probability, the intereſt of the Engliſh in Bengal would have greatly ſuffered: for the new Nabob, who owed his very exiſtence to the Engliſh, and had upon the firſt arrival of the Dutch forces in the river, ſent an expreſs command to the director and council of Hughley, to prevent their proceeding up the river, was now become ſo pliable, that he remained with a conſiderable army inactive, and an idle ſpectator of the unequal combat, in which the ſuperiority of forces was greatly againſt his friends and allies the Engliſh; with a treacherous reſolution, common to the eaſtern Princes, to join the victorious party, whatever ſide ſhould get the better. So that as ſoon as he ſaw the Dutch army defeated and totally ruined, he offered his ſervice to reduce Chincery alſo: as he would have offered the Dutch, had they conquered, to reduce Calcutta.

Doubtful conduct of the Nabob.

Colonel Clive was too well acquainted with his diſpoſition; rejected his propoſal, and entered into a treaty of accommodation with the directors and council of Chincery; who diſclaimed having any hand or being privy to what had paſſed on board of ſhip, and endeavoured, by every colouring, excuſe and inſinuation, to take off all hoſtile intentions on the part of their own people, and to throw the blame of the late rupture upon the raſhneſs of the Engliſh. However they agreed[e] to

Dutch factory diſclaim any part in this hoſtility.

Dutch agree to pay damages.

[e] *Engliſh demands, with the Dutch anſwers thereto.*

Art. I. The director and council of Chincura ſhall give full ſatisfaction to the preſident and council of Fort William, for

to pay damages of 100,000 l. on condition the ſhips were reſtored in their ruinous condition, and their A. D. 1759.

for the inſult offered to the Britiſh flag by the commanders of the Dutch ſhips, and for the detention of many of our veſſels, which were ſeized and ſtopped in the river, contrary to the treaties which ſubſiſt between the two nations, and for the other acts of hoſtility committed by the ſaid ſhips.

Anſwer. The director and council of Chincura declare, that, as they have always been poſſeſſed with ſentiments of peace, the troubles, which have happened to diſturb the good underſtanding between the two nations, having only ſerved to give them a ſenſible pain; and every thing, which has paſſed below, with reſpect to the Engliſh flag, and the inſults committed, is without their order, and what they regret, and perhaps done by the people of the ſhips from a miſunderſtanding of their orders, with which they hope the governor and council will be fully ſatisfied.

Art. II. The director and council of Chincura ſhall make good, both to the company and individuals, all damages done by the commanders of their ſhips, whether by their order or not; and ſhall immediately reſtore all the veſſels, ſtores, and effects, which may ſtill be in their poſſeſſion.

Anſ. As the Dutch veſſels have alſo been much damaged, the real loſs will be willingly made good; but it is to be hoped the governor and council will reflect equitably on this article: and, if they inſiſt upon it, we ſhall endeavour to ſatisfy them.

Done at Garhelly, December 1, 1759,

RICHARD BECHER,
JOHN COOKE.
JOHN BACHERACHT,
J. C. HIST.

Dutch demands, with the anſwers of the Engliſh thereto.

Art. I. That the Engliſh ſhall effect the Nabob's return, or, at leaſt, prevail on him to remain quiet in his camp, without doing us any injury; and that the articles of our agree-

A. D. 1759. their men ſet at liberty. They alſo renewed their treaty with the Nabob. In which they agreed to diſmiſs and

ment be accepted, approved and confirmed by the Nabob's principal, as far as they concern him, as well for the preſent as for the future.

Anſ. We have already made uſe of all our intereſt with the Nabob, and ſhall continue to engage him to withdraw his arms, the moment the Dutch government has fulfilled his orders. The articles agreed on between the Engliſh and Dutch cannot be included in the treaty which the government of Hughley may conclude with the Nabob's principal.

Art. II. That what has paſſed, during the troubles which have now ceaſed, ſhall be mutually forgot; and an aſſurance given of a perfect friendſhip, fidelity, and correſpondence, being kept up between the two nations, by their reſpective chiefs, without permitting any hoſtility on one ſide or the other, on any pretence whatſoever; that each ſhall do his utmoſt to preſerve this good intelligence, and to contribute, as far as poſſible, to the good of both, without aſſiſting, directly or indirectly, thoſe who would prejudice either.

Anſ. Approved, as far as is conſiſtent with the alliance, between the Nabob and us, and while friendſhip ſubſiſts between our ſovereigns in Europe.

Art. III. As we have neither acted by the declaration of war, nor by commiſſion, our troops and mariners cannot be conſidered as priſoners of war, ſubject to a capitulation, but merely as temporary captives, and therefore ought to be ſet at liberty, with all military honours.

Anſ. We don't look upon the Dutch officers and troops as our priſoners, but as thoſe of the Nabob; and are therefore ready to releaſe them as ſoon as they have concluded their treaty with him, except ſuch as are willing to enter into our ſervice, or who demand the protection of the Engliſh flag.

Art. IV. That they ſhall leave us in the free poſſeſſion of our ſettlements, commerce, rights, and privileges.

Anſ.

and ſend away from Bengal, the forces lately brought or entertained by the Dutch in that province: never to build forts, or make any military preparations, to make war, nor to bring any armed force into Bengal, nor entertain any more than 125 European forces in all their factories, eſtabliſhed within the three provinces [f]. But this was ſuch A. D. 1759.

Anſ. We have never interrupted the Dutch in their juſt rights and privileges, nor ever purpoſe doing it.

Art. V. That all the people, poſſeſſions, ſettlements, lands, houſes, ſhips, and veſſels, belonging both to the company and individuals, and every thing belonging thereto, ſhall be declared free, and reſtored, in preſence of the deputies appointed by both parties, in their proper condition.

Anſ. All the ſhips and veſſels in our poſſeſſion ſhall be reſtored as ſoon as our demands are complied with, or on an aſſurance thereof given by the director and council of Hughley.

Art. VI. Theſe treaties to be exchanged, with the approbation of the directors of both companies, as ſoon as poſſible.

Anſ. Granted.

Art. VII. Finally, the two parties ſhall be reciprocal guarantees for the execution of the preceding articles.

Anſ. We do not ſee any neceſſity for this article.

Done at Garhelly, December 1, 1759.
JOHN BACHERAGHT,
S. C. HIST.

Done at Garhelly, December 3, 1759.
RICHARD BECHER,
JOHN COOKE.

[f] *Copy of the Dutch propoſals made to the Chuta Nabob, with his anſwers, ratified the 5th of December* 1759.

Art. I. That the purchaſes and ſales of the Dutch company be again made, in the ſame manner as in former times.

A. D. 1759.

How reſented by the Britiſh court.

ſuch a monſtrous proceeding of a nation or people, who enjoyed all the ſweets of peace, and all the

Anſ. The purchaſes and ſales of the Dutch company ſhall be carried on according to cuſtom, excepting the ſalt petre of Azimabad, which ſhall be purchaſed by the means of Raja Ramnaram Bahadar; nor ſhall any one moleſt them.

Art. II. That nobody cauſe any obſtruction in the proviſion of cloth, &c. at the Aurungs, on account of the Dutch company.

Anſ. Nobody ſhall obſtruct the proviſion of cloth, &c. according to the cuſtom of the Aurungs, nor uſe any violence.

Art. III. That the goods and treaſure of the Dutch company be allowed to paſs and repaſs with the Dutch Duſtuck; that nobody obſtruct them, nor any longer demand illicit cuſtoms.

Anſ. The merchandize of the Dutch company ſhall paſs and repaſs, by land or water, free from unprecedented impoſitions; nor ſhall any one demand illicit cuſtoms.

Art. IV. That payment be made, by the officers of the mint, of Murſhedabad, of the balance due to the Dutch company.

Anſ. The officers of the mint at Murſhedabad ſhall be made to pay whatever balance is juſtly and truly due.

Articles agreed upon by the Dutch company with the Nabob, and ratified under the hands and ſeals of the Dutch directors and council, and the ſeal of the company.

Art. I. We will immediately ſend away the Europeans, Buccaſſes, and Tilangas, that have been brought hither in our ſhips; and we will diſmiſs the Europeans, Sepoys, and Burgundaſſes, lately entertained.

Art. II. We will bring no more armed forces into the country of Bengal, nor ever make war in the country, nor erect any fortifications, nor make any military preparations.

Art. III. We will entertain no more than 125 European ſoldiers in all our factories eſtabliſhed within the three provinces.

Art. IV.

the advantages of an unmoleſted trade; and at a time, when the Engliſh carefully avoided giving them the leaſt umbrage of a quarrel, and made themſelves ſecure in their friendſhip, founded upon the ties of the moſt ſolemn treaties; that the Britiſh court could not receive the news thereof without the moſt ſerious reflections; which were immediately ſummed up in a memorial, preſented to the States General: and though accompanied with a minute account of the whole tranſaction, drawn up with the ſtricteſt regard to truth, demanding exemplary puniſhment on the parties concerned in the offence, and ſignal ſatisfaction, and a ſtrict performance of the ſtipulations agreed upon between the directors of the reſpective companies[g]; their High and Mightineſſes only pleaded

A. D. 1759.

A memorial to the States General demanding ſatisfaction.

Art. IV. We will carry on our trade with peace and quietneſs; and, in caſe (which God forbid!) our buſineſs ſhould meet with any obſtructions, diſputes, or oppreſſions, we will apply for redreſs to the Nazem of the provinces.

[g] *The ſubſtance of the memorial preſented by General York to the States General, concerning the diſputes in the Eaſt-Indies.*

That their High Mightineſſes were already informed by the public news papers of an event as ſurpriſing as irregular, in conſequence of the conduct which the Dutch have held for ſome time in the Eaſt Indies, and lately in the river of Bengal, notwithſtanding the regard which the Britiſh ſubjects had on every occaſion ſhewn for them: that their High Mightineſſes muſt be greatly aſtoniſhed to hear, by this memorial, of that extraordinary and unexpected event; but that they would be much more ſo on reading the piece annexed to it, containing a minute account, drawn up with the ſtricteſt regard to truth,

A. D. 1759.

Their evaſive anſwer.

pleaded ignorance: and gave ſuch an evaſive anſwer, as confirmed the ſuſpicion of all the world, that the government of Batavia had not proceeded, in ſuch a violent and hoſtile manner, without direction or countenance from Europe [h].

of the irregularity of the behaviour of the Dutch, at a time when they enjoyed all the ſweets of peace, and all the advantages of an unmoleſted trade; at a time, in ſhort, when his Majeſty, from his great regard for their High Mightineſſes, carefully avoided giving them the leaſt umbrage.

That his Britannic Majeſty was greatly ſtruck to hear of the monſtrous proceedings of the Dutch in the Eaſt Indies, and their miſchievous deſigns to deſtroy the ſettlements of his ſubjects there, which they would certainly have effected, had not his Majeſty's victorious arms brought them to reaſon, tho' only three of his ſhips engaged ſeven Dutch ſhips, and obliged them to conclude an accommodation: that his Majeſty would willingly believe, that their High Mightineſſes gave no order for coming to ſuch extremities, and that the directors of the India company had no hand therein: That, nevertheleſs, he (Mr. Yorke) was ordered to demand, in the name of the King his maſter, ſignal ſatisfaction; and that all who ſhall be found to have had any ſhare in this offence, which manifeſtly tended to the deſtruction of the Britiſh ſettlements in that country, ſhould be exemplarily puniſhed; and that their High Mightineſſes ſhould moreover give orders, that the ſtipulations agreed on, the day after the action, between the directors of the reſpective companies, in conſideration of which the Dutch had their ſhips reſtored, after they had acknowledged their fault, and that they were the aggreſſors, ſhould be ſtrictly complied with.

[h] The ſubſtance of the States Generals anſwer was as follows: That nothing had as yet come to the knowledge of their High Mightineſſes, of what their ſubjects were charged with; that they requeſted his Britannic Majeſty to ſuſpend his judgment till he ſhould be exactly informed of the grounds of thoſe diſputes; and that his Majeſty ſhould have reaſon to be ſatisfied

The Eaſt India company were no leſs fortunate in their ſucceſs at Surat, a great commercial city, in the centre of the Aſiatic trade, and one of the moſt frequented cities in the Eaſt, eſpecially by the vaſt concourſe of Mahometan pilgrims, from India, to the tomb of their prophet, which has gained it the name of the Gate of Mecca. The Mogul appoints the governor of the caſtle to keep the city in ſubjection, and a Siddee to be admiral, with a certain ſtipend or revenue, called the Tanka, to guard the trade and the pilgrims in thoſe ſeas from pirates, between Surat and the Perſian and Arabian gulphs, without any power independent of the marine. But the Siddee Muſſoot, under a pretence of arrears in his appointed revenue, ſeized on the caſtle, encroached on the town, and ſeized one third of its revenues: another third was paid to the Marattas, whoſe farmer reſided in Surat, to prevent their depredations upon the trade in the open country: but not ſatisfied with this ſtipulation, they are forever ready to join with a diſcontented party, and to find opportunity to plunder the city itſelf. An opportunity ſeemed to preſent itſelf through the diſcontent occaſioned by the intolerable additional burdens upon trade, and the lawleſs behaviour of the Siddee, whoſe ſon became a terror to the inhabitants, by his riots and murders. The principal inhabitants deſpairing of redreſs by any other means, applied to the preſidency of Bombay to

A. D. 1759.

The revolution of Surat.

Cauſe of the revolution.

Application to the Engliſh.

ſatisfied with the exemplary puniſhment of all, who ſhould be found to be concerned in that affair. *Which was never performed.*

A. D. 1759. come with an armed force, and to ſeize upon both the caſtle and the Tanka, and to place the chief magiſtracy of the city in the hands of Pharras Cawn, of whoſe ability and conduct the citizens had an high opinion, founded upon experience, during his adminiſtration as Naib or Deputy.

Reaſons why the preſidency of Bombay engaged.

The preſidency of Bombay, well acquainted with the ſtate of the caſe, and with the interruptions the Engliſh met with in their trade at Surat, by frauds, extortions and other vexatious and wilful impediments; and alſo by frequent inſults, violences and murders committed on their ſervants, with a total diſregard to the protection of the Engliſh company; they readily approved and accepted the propoſal, which was made not only by the whole merchantile intereſt, but by Siddee Jaffier and Velley Ullah. But as theſe two principal men, (the former prompted only by ſelf-preſervation; and the other by a paſſionate deſire to overthrow that power, which he had too juſt reaſon to fear, on account of betraying his new maſter to the Siddee) were not to be relied on; the preſidency narrowly enquired into the ſtrength that might be brought to oppoſe them; and finding that they could provide ſufficient force to carry the point; the expedition was undertaken.

Aſſiſted by two men of war.

Admiral Pocock, at the requeſt of the preſidency of Bombay, ordered the Sunderland and Newcaſtle to convoy their fleet: and Captain Maitland, of the royal regiment of artillery, was ordered to embark, with the command of 850 men,

Troops employed.

men, artillery and infantry, and 1500 Sepoys, on board the company's armed veſſels. This armament ſailed on the 9th of February, under the command of Admiral Watſon; and on the 15th he landed the troops at a place called Dentilowry, about nine miles from Surat. The army encamped here for four days, and being refreſhed, and receiving freſh aſſurances of the affections of the people and of the firmneſs of thoſe, who had called them to their aſſiſtance, Captain Maitland marched to the city: but met with ſuch a warm reception from the Siddee's people, who had poſted themſelves in the French garden, that he loſt twenty men killed, and as many wounded in a hot diſpute, that laſted four hours, before he could diſlodge the enemy. A. D. 1759. Met with a warm reception.

Here Captain Maitland ordered a battery to be erected. Which was finiſhed in two days, and was mounted with two 24 pounders, and one 13 inch mortar. This battery played as briſk as poſſible for three days againſt the walls, &c. but this way of aſſault not promiſing the deſired effect, it was reſolved, by a council of war, compoſed of military and marine officers, to make a general attack; a plan of which was laid before them by Captain Maitland, and readily agreed to. Battery erected. General attack reſolved.

The plan was, that the company's grab and bomb-ketches ſhould warp up the river in the night, and anchor in a line of battle oppoſite the Sidees Bundar, one of the ſtrongeſt fortified places they had got: this they did, and a general attack began from the veſſels and battery at the appoint- The plan.

A. D. 1759. appointed time; to drive the enemy from their batteries, and to facilitate the landing of the infantry at the Bundar, they embarked on board of boats for their tranſportation. A continual fire was made until half paſt eight, when a ſignal was made for the boats to put off, and to go under the cover of the veſſels. This proved very ſucceſsful, by the conduct and gallant behaviour of Captain Watſon, for the men were landed with the loſs of one man only; getting poſſeſſion of the Sidees Bundar, and putting the men to flight, with the loſs of Captain Robert Engliſh mortally wounded, and Lieutenant Pepperel wounded in the ſhoulder: our loſs of men not very conſiderable.

Having gained this point, and getting poſſeſſion of the outer town, with its fortifications, the next thing to be done was to attack the inner town and caſtle.

The thirteen and two inch mortars were planted on the Sidees Bundar, and began firing into the caſtle and town as ſoon as poſſible; diſtance from the caſtle about 700 yards, inner town 500.

About ſix in the evening the mortars began to play very briſkly, and continued to do ſo until half paſt two the next morning. This continual firing of mortars put the caſtle and town into ſuch a conſternation, that they never returned one gun.

Terms of the ſurrender ſettled. This was the critical time for ſettling affairs with the inhabitants and malecontents. The friends of Pharraſs Cawn now ſeemed moſt inclined

clined to continue Meah Atchund governor of the town, on condition Pharraſs Cawn ſhould be Naib or Deputy, and eſtabliſhing the Engliſh in poſſeſſion of the caſtle and Tanka. And Mr. Spencer, who acted in behalf of the company, having communicated this reſolution to Atchund, he readily agreed to and executed the following treaty. A. D. 1759.

" Agreeable to your deſire I ſend a perſon to " you, by whom you adviſed me verbally of " your demands, and with ſincerity of heart, I " now write the particulars, I can agree to, which " are as follow :

ATCHUND'S Seal.	COOTBODEEN'S Seal.
Art. I. That Pharraſs Cawn ſhall be appointed to the office of Naib, in its greateſt extent, as in the time of Suffdair Cawn, and nobody, but himſelf, ſhall interfere in the ſaid poſt.	Art. I. Agreeable to this article I fully conſent to Pharraſs Cawn's appointment.
Art. II. That whatever articles Pharraſs Cawn has given in writeing, or promiſed to the honourable company, (the particulars of which can't be drawn out at preſent, and muſt be	Art. II. Whatever Pharraſs Cawn has wrote or promiſed to do for the honourable company, I will ſtand to, without the leaſt alteration.

deferred

A. D. 1759.

deferred 'till we can meet) ſhall be fully complied with, without the leaſt diminution.

Art. III. That the Mecca Gate ſhall be opened, and our troops admitted, and we ſhall join our forces to drive our enemy out of the town.

Art. III. The Mecca Gate ſhall be opened; your troops admitted, and joined by mine, to drive out the enemy.

Art. IV. The above articles a perſon on your behalf demanded: all which I agree to, and will comply with, and the government ſhall be continued to me in full authority: and to the above I have ſet my own ſeal, and Meer Cootbodeen will ſign and ſeal the ſame. After which you muſt ſend a counter-part of this writing, with the honourable company's ſeal affixed.

Art. IV. Agreed to, and that we ſhall act jointly in turning the enemy out of the town. Whatever the honourable company have demanded, I agree to.

The counter-part of this treaty was duly executed, under the company's ſeal, and delivered to Atchund, on the fourth of March. And At-

chund opened the inner town-gate, with a meſſage to Captain Maitland to march in: which was immediately done with drums beating and colours flying. The Siddee ſtill kept poſſeſſion of the caſtle. But informed that Atchund had joined his forces with the Engliſh to drive him out, and knowing his own inability to reſiſt, he, after repeated meſſages, with a variety of propoſals, was content with liberty for his people to march out with their arms and accoutrements, their valuable effects, and even the furniture of their houſes. Captain Maitland ſaw this punctually executed, with the greateſt regularity, and he took poſſeſſion of the caſtle and Tanka, in the name and for the uſe of the company, without any further moleſtation; and with no other loſs than 150 men killed and 60 wounded. A revolution which reſtored peace and good government to the city, and placed the Engliſh in a moſt valuable and neceſſary ſettlement, with the ſatisfaction of all parties, except the tyrant they had driven out.

A. D. 1759.

Engliſh take poſſeſſion of the town gate.

Agreement with the Siddee.

There ſtill remains an action within the courſe of this year, beyond the line, which, though it ſucceeded does very little honour to the French, and much leſs to the commander in chief, who undertook the expedition. The attack was upon Gombroon [i], a ſmall unfortified ſettlement, belonging

The French expedition againſt Gombroon.

[i] The Engliſh were fixt here by Shaw Abbas Sophia of Perſia, after the deſtruction of Ormus; to whom he granted great privileges in commerce, and a proportion of the cuſtoms of that port, which amount to near 4000l. ſterling per annum.

A. D. 1759. longing to the Engliſh Eaſt India company, in the gulph of Perſia, about fifteen degrees weſt of Surat. It was againſt this diſtant, defenceleſs factory, as a place totally neglected, M. Lally vowed vengeance, after his diſappointment before Fort St. George. He equipped four ſhips, under Dutch colours, one of which carried ſixty-four guns, and another twenty-two, with a land force of 150 Europeans, and about 200 Caffrees, two mortars and four pieces of battering cannon, to lay ſiege to a factory that conſiſted of no more than one ſtrong houſe, not fortified. Which ſervice was committed to the command and direction of the Count d'Eſtaing, who was made priſoner of war by Colonel Draper, in his ſally on the 14th of March into the Black-town, and at this time on his parole. Such is the example of Gallic faith and bravery!

Its weakneſs.

The enemy arrived before this place on the 15th of October 1759, and began to batter the agent's houſe with their whole train, in which there were no more than ſixteen men, including the crew of the Speedwell, then at anchor, and

Its garriſon.

num. But the Engliſh have loſt theſe advantages, by the confuſion and anarchy that has almoſt ruined Perſia: the climate is ſo hot and unwholeſome, that the very natives fly from it in the bad ſeaſon; coming down with their caravans only at ſuch times as the ſhips are expected, to trade for cloth, &c. which they carry away in carravans. So that, as there is no need of ware-houſes, the company have no fortifications; but only ſecure the houſe for their agent or chief, and his clerks, with a very ſmall party of ſoldiers to defend them againſt robbers.

deſerted

deſerted at the approach of the French, who burnt the veſſel. The Engliſh put themſelves into the beſt poſture of defence they were able, determined to ſell their factory and lives, as dear as poſſible. At laſt the frigate, of twenty-two guns, hauled in, at high water, to about a quarter of a mile from the factory, and began to fire: and the military forces being landed, with their cannon and mortars, played upon it with a hot fire from the weſtward, for two hours. About three o'clock in the afternoon, the doughty French general ſent his ſummons; and the beſieged, not being in a condition to defend themſelves, capitulated. By which the French commander promiſed to prevent diſorders and thefts: but that the chief, the garriſon, factors, writers, and all the Europeans in the ſervice of the company, and all ſubjects of his Britannic Majeſty, found in the factory, ſhould be priſoners of war: and that all effects, of what kind ſoever, ſhould be delivered up, and become the property of the beſiegers; with certain proviſo's and exceptions, calculated to cover the Count d'Eſtaing from the guilt of breaking his parole, as you'll find in the fourth and following articles of capitulation in the note below [k]. For, it is certain, that the count could not

A. D. 1759.

Attacked by ſea and land.

Capitulates.

[k] Art. IV. Whereas Monſieur d'Eſtaing, brigadier of foot, and formerly a priſoner of his Britannic Majeſty, is now on board the ſhip Condè, in his way to Europe, by the way of Buſſorah, and being deſirous of rendering more ſecure the intelligence received of an exchange having been made in his behalf,

A. D. 1759. not have the intelligence he pretends to have received; there not having been ſo much as an attempt,

behalf, between Mr. Pigot, governor of Madraſs, and Monſieur Lally, lieutenant general; it is now agreed between the beſiegers and beſieged, that Alexander Douglaſs, Eſquire, chief of the Engliſh Eaſt-India company's factory at Gombroon, with William Naſh, enſign Johnſton, Dymoke Lyſter, Lieutenant George Bembow, Lieutenant Richard Evans, and Richard Mainwaring, are lawfully exchanged for Monſieur d'Eſtaing; and they are at full liberty to go where and to what places they pleaſe, in conſequence of which, Monſieur d'Eſtaing is under no other clauſe than what is ſpecified in the ſixth article.

Art. V. Though the preſent exchange of priſoners is an unneceſſary precaution in behalf of Monſieur d'Eſtaing, yet all perſons mentioned in the preceding article are abſolutely free: but ſhould Monſieur d'Eſtaing have been already exchanged, as he undoubtedly is, in that caſe, for the ſeven perſons already mentioned, who now enjoy their liberty, a like number, and of equal ſtation, of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's ſubjects, are to be releaſed whenever a cartel is made.

Art. VI. Monſieur d'Eſtaing, in order to fulfil with the greateſt exactitude the promiſe he made Governor Pigot, that he would not take up arms againſt the Engliſh on the Coromandel coaſt only, for the ſpace of eighteen months, reckoning from the firſt of May, one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty nine; deſires it may be inſerted in the preſent capitulation, that notwithſtanding he is now exchanged, yet he will keep the promiſe he made Governor Pigot, of not taking up arms againſt the Engliſh on the Coromandel coaſt only, for the ſpace of eighteen months, but he is at free liberty in all other places to take arms.

Art. VII. If it is poſſible to agree about the re-purchaſing of Gombroon factory, it will be looked on as part of the preſent capitulation, the beſiegers reſerving to themſelves the liberty nevertheleſs to do therewith as they may think fit, ſhould no agreement be concluded with the beſieged.

Art. VIII.

tempt made towards his exchange: and the parole he gave was in the uſual form; not to ſerve directly or indirectly againſt the Engliſh in the preſent war, or till he ſhould be regularly exchanged. Neither did this doughty hero, the conqueror of Gombroon, obſerve this capitulation any better than his parole of honour. He ſet fire to the factory, on the 30th of October, and then reimbarked his troops; having alſo dug mines in ſeveral parts; fixed combuſtibles to the beams and apartments, and given the factory up to a general pillage by the Arabs. A. D. 1759. Breaks the capitulation.

While our arms were thus employed abroad, the French had given up all hopes of ſucceſs in every other quarter, ſo long as England enjoyed profound peace at home: and they were convinced that the harmony and unanimity of the nation, to ſupport the activity and wiſe meaſures of the miniſtry, could not be diſturbed and broken by any other means, than by a reſolute and powerful effort, which might be made An invaſion threatned.

Art. VIII. In conſideration of the exchange of Monſieur d'Eſtaing, and at his particular requeſt to Monſieur Des Eſſars, Alexander Douglaſs, Eſquire, chief of the Engliſh Eaſt India company's ſettlements of Gombroon, and all others mentioned in the fourth article, have liberty, and may carry away all their own effects, of what kind or ſort ſoever, excepting ammunition, proviſions, marine, military, or warlike ſtores.

Dated at Gombroon, the fourteenth day of October, at ſix o'clock in the morning, and in the year of our Lord one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-nine.

ALEXANDER DOUGLASS.
DES ESSARS, WILLIAM NASH.
CHARNYAU. RICHARD JOHNSTON.

A. D. 1759. by three armies, covered with the whole collective force of their navy from Toulon, Breſt and Dunkirk, to invade the Britiſh iſles, in three different parts at once. This invaſion was deſigned, and the preparations for it begun laſt winter [l]. Theſe intentions were not hidden from the miniſter's vigilance and penetration [m]. He reſerved a ſufficient ſtrength to defeat a deſcent upon any part of the Britiſh iſlands; at the ſame time he provided for the exigencies of every expedition againſt the enemy, even in the moſt diſtant parts of the globe. For, he not only diſpatched the ſeveral fleets or ſquadrons for executing his grand projects in North and South America; but his care extended to the Aſiatic regions, where the Britiſh intereſt was, in the beginning of the year, and for ſome months before, greatly threatened by the Gallic power under M. Lally, preparing to lay ſiege to Madraſs and Fort St. George; and by the reinforcements ſent to M. D'Aché. In April [n] Admiral Corniſh ſailed for Bombay with a reinforcement of four men of war, which alſo took the Eaſt India ſhips under convoy.

How obviated and defeated.

The firſt ſtep taken for preventing the French invaſion, was to guard the Streights of Gibraltar; and to intercept the armament, preparing at Tou-

[l] See page 403. Vol. III.

[m] In the warrants for preſſing, iſſued on March, it was ſet forth, That it was abſolutely neceſſary, in the preſent critical ſituation of affairs, when attempts may be made to *invade* theſe kingdoms, no time ſhould be loſt in the immediate equipment of his Majeſty's fleet.

[n] On the 14th.

lon,

lon, ſhould that fleet endeavour to paſs into the ocean. Admiral Boſcawen was ſelected for that ſervice, and ſailed for his ſtation on the 14th of April from St. Helen's, with the Namure, Magnanime, Dorſetſhire, Edgar, Conqueror, Dunkirk, two bombs and two fire-ſhips. He arrived at Gibraltar with a quick and ſafe voyage in fourteen days. A. D. 1759. Admiral Boſcawen ſails.

Advice being received that the French preparations for an invaſion were continued with more vigour; eſpecially in Upper Normandy and Picardy; his Majeſty, by a meſſage to the Houſe, preſented by Mr. Secretary PITT, informed them of his apprehenſions, and ſignified the neceſſity there was for them to provide ſuch ſupply, as might enable his Majeſty to prevent or defeat their pernicious deſigns [o]. Admiral Hawke was ordered to proceed for the Bay with the grand fleet, which ſailed on the 18th of May; at the ſame time King's meſſage to parliament. Admiral Hawke ſails.

[o] "GEORGE R.

His Majeſty relying on the experienced zeal and affection of his faithful commons, and conſidering that, in this critical conjuncture, emergencies may ariſe, which may be of the utmoſt importance, and be attended with the moſt pernicious conſequences, if proper means ſhould not immediately be applied to prevent or defeat them, is deſirous that this houſe will enable him to defray any extraordinary expences of the war, incurred, or to be incurred, for the ſervice of the year 1759, and to take all meaſures as may be neceſſary to diſappoint or defeat any enterpriſes or deſigns of his enemies, and as the exigency of affairs may require."

In conſequence of the above meſſage, a vote of credit for 1,000,000 was granted for the purpoſes therein mentioned.

A. D. 1759. 22,000 tons of ſhipping were contracted for to embark in another expedition againſt the coaſt of France: and the national troops, not otherwiſe uſefully employed, and the militia, were ſo ſtationed as to defend the coaſts of theſe kingdoms againſt any accident, that might prevent our fleets blocking up, intercepting and defeating the French embarkations.

Troops and militia ſtationed.

French preparations. The French miniſtry were making the utmoſt effort with their naval ſtrength. The Toulon ſquadron was directed to join that of Breſt. The chief command of their grand fleet at Breſt was conferred on M. Conflans. The troops deſtined for this embarkation were to be ſhipped at Vannes, under the command of the Duke D'Aquillon. Another embarkation of troops was preparing at Havre; who were to be aſſiſted with a number of flat-bottomed boats: and again a ſmall ſquadron was equipping at Dunkirk, to be commanded by M. Thurot.

Another meſſage to parliament. His Majeſty, three days before the cloſe of the ſeſſion, acquainted his parliament by another meſſage, that he had received more certain advices of theſe preparations [p] to invade England; and pro-

[p] Which were reported to conſiſt of 63,000 men, conſiſting of ſixty-three battalions of infantry; and the following cavalry, viz. 200 muſquetaires, 400 life-guards, 150 horſe-grenadiers, 200 gens d'armes and light-horſe, 2560 horſe, making eight regiments, 2400 dragoons, 2609 legion-royale, artillerie, &c. under the chief command of the Prince of Condi, Prince de Soubiſe, Count de Thomond, field marſhals. Eight lieutenant generals, twelve major generals, eighteen

propoſed, on that occaſion, to draw out, embody and march the militia, as ſhould be found requiſite. In which both houſes of parliament returned a moſt dutiful and loyal addreſs [q]. And the city of A. D. 1759.

eighteen brigadier generals, twenty-ſix ſhips of the line, twelve frigates, eight fire ſhips, ſix xebeques, eight armed gallies, five hundred tranſports, twenty phyſicians, one hundred ſurgeons, fifty apothecaries, and two chaplains in each ſhip.

[q] GEORGE R.

The King has received advices that the French court is making preparations with a deſign to invade this kingdom; and though his Majeſty is perſuaded, that, by the united zeal and affection of his people, any ſuch attempt muſt, under the bleſſing of God, end in the deſtruction of thoſe who ſhall be engaged therein; yet his Majeſty apprehends that he ſhould not act conſiſtently with that paternal care, and concern, which he has always ſhewn for the ſafety and preſervation of his people, if he omitted any means in his power, which may be neceſſary for their defence. Therefore, in purſuance of the late act of parliament, his Majeſty acquaints the houſe of Lords with his having received repeated intelligence of the actual preparations, making in the French ports, to invade this kingdom, and of the imminent danger of ſuch invaſion being attempted; to the end that his Majeſty may (if he ſhall think proper) cauſe the militia, or ſuch part thereof as ſhall be neceſſary to be drawn out, and embodied, and to march as occaſion ſhall require.

Which being read, it was ordered,

"That an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to return him the thanks of this houſe for his moſt gracious meſſage, and for his acquainting us with the intelligence he has received of the preparations making by France to invade this kingdom. To declare our utmoſt indignation and abhorrence of ſuch a deſign; and that we will, with united duty, zeal, and affection, at the hazard of our lives and fortunes,

A. D. 1759. of London ſoon after addreſſing his Majeſty on the Prince of Wales's coming of age, took that opportu-

ſtand by and defend his Majeſty againſt any ſuch preſumptuous and deſperate attempt. To expreſs the juſt ſenſe we have of his Majeſty's goodneſs to his people, in omitting no means in his power which may tend to their defence; and in his intention to call out and employ the militia, if it ſhall be found neceſſary, for that purpoſe; and to give his Majeſty the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, that we will with vigour and ſteadineſs, ſupport his Majeſty in taking the moſt effectual meaſures to defeat the deſigns of his enemies; to preſerve and ſecure his ſacred perſon and government, the proteſtant ſucceſſion in his royal family, and the religion, laws, and liberties, of theſe kingdoms."

The ſame meſſage being carried by Mr. Secretary PITT to the Houſe of Commons, and being read by Mr. Speaker,

Reſolved, Nemine Contradicente,

That an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to return his Majeſty our dutiful thanks for graciouſly communicating to this houſe, that he has received repeated intelligence of the actual preparations making in the French ports to invade this kingdom, and of the imminent danger of ſuch invaſion being attempted; and for his Majeſty's paternal and timely care of the ſafety and preſervation of his people; to aſſure his Majeſty that this houſe will, with their lives and fortunes, ſupport and ſtand by his Majeſty, againſt all attempts whatever; and that his faithful commons, with hearts warm with affection and zeal for his Majeſty's ſacred perſon and government, and animated by indignation at the daring deſigns of an enemy, whoſe fleet has hitherto ſhunned, in port, the terror of his navy, will chearfully exert the utmoſt efforts to repel all inſults, and effectually enable his Majeſty, not only to diſappoint the attempts of France, but, by the bleſſing of God, to turn them to their own confuſion.

Reſolved,

opportunity to assure his Majesty, "That no hostile threats can intimidate a people animated "by the love of liberty, and inspired with a sense "of duty and affection to their sovereign; and "that, confiding in the divine providence, and "the experienced wisdom and vigour of his Ma- "jesty's councils, they were resolved to employ "their utmost efforts towards enabling of him "to repel the insults, and defeat the attempts of "the antient enemies of his Majesty's crown and "kingdoms." A. D. 1759.

Commodore Boyce was stationed with a sufficient squadron before Dunkirk, to combat any force of shipping that could be fitted out from thence. Commodore Boyce stationed off Dunkirk.

This was immediately and vigorously followed by an expedition against Havre de Grace, to burn the magazines erected there for the stores of the flat-bottomed boats; and to destroy the boats and shipping in that harbour [r]. This service was entrusted Expedition against Havre de Grace.

Resolved, That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, that he will be graciously pleased to give directions to his lieutenants of the several counties, ridings, and places, within that part of Great Britain called England, to use their utmost diligence and attention to carry into execution the several acts of parliament, made for the better ordering the militia forces of that part of Great Britain called England.

[r] Havre de Grace is situated on the point of a large valley, at the mouth of the river Seine, between Roan and Dieppe, from each of which places it is distant about eighteen leagues. The ground on which it stands is full of morasses, and crossed by a great number of creeks and ditches full of

A. D. 1759. truſted to the command of Rear-Admiral Rodney; who, with four ſhips of the line, two frigates,

water, having been gradually formed by large quantities of gravel, ſand, and mud, which the tide threw up by inſenſible degrees, and at length left dry.

It is fortified by four baſtions and five half moons. It is commanded towards the eaſt by the citadel, and, on the weſt, is bounded by quays built along the harbour. The citadel, built by Cardinal Richelieu's order, in the year 1628, is fortified by four baſtions and three half-moons, with a ditch and advanced ditch quite round it. The ditches of the citadel, as well as the town, are filled with water from the ſea by ſluices. The number of inhabitants is ſuppoſed to be about 30,000.

The harbour of Havre has a particular advantage not only over the other ſea-ports of Normandy, but of the whole kingdom; for the water does not begin to ebb till three hours after the full tide, ſo that fleets of 120 ſail have often ſailed out of it in one tide, even with the wind againſt them. The cauſe of this phænomenon is ſuppoſed to be the current of the Seine, which croſſing the mouth of the harbour, with great force, as ſoon as the ſea begins to retire, confines the water in the harbour till it has ſpent its ſtrength.

The channel of the harbour naturally points to the ſouth-weſt, and it is turned more towards the weſt by a bank of ſtones and rubbiſh thrown up by the ſea, which has made the entrance into it narrow and dangerous, as veſſels are in danger of driving upon the back of the weſt jetty every ſtrong weſterly wind.

The great road is two good leagues from the harbour, and lies W. S. W. of Cape la Heve. It extends a whole league from north to ſouth, and is twelve fathom deep at high water, and being eight and nine at low water; the bottom is hard ground, and free from rocks. The little road is but half a league from the harbour, and lies S. S. E. of Cape la Heve. It is of a ſquare form, and extends about a quarter of a

league

gates, two ſloops and ſix bomb-veſſels, ſailed from St. Hellen's, on the ſecond of July, and arrived next day in the great road of Havre. Admiral Rodney immediately began to make a diſpoſition to put his orders into execution. The narrow channel of the river leading to Harfleur being found the only place to do this execution from, the Admiral ordered the bombs to be placed there. Two of them got to their ſtation about ſeven that evening: the others were got into their places early next morning. From theſe began a bombardment, that laſted fifty-two hours without intermiſſion, and with ſuch ſucceſs, that the town was ſeveral times in flames, and their magazine-ſtores for their flat-bottomed boats, burnt with uncommon fury for ſix hours and upwards, though ſeveral hundred men were continually employed, and did all in their power to extinguiſh the fire.

A. D. 1759.

Havre bombarded.

league every way; the bottom is good ground, covered with flints and oyſters: the water is eight fathoms and a half at full ſea, and four at low water. The baſon, or dock, is reſerved for the King's men of war, of which it can receive thirty with eaſe, and has depth of water for ſixty gun ſhips. The docks for building the King's ſhips, and other veſſels for the ſervice of the ſtate, are at the bottom of the arſenal or marine ſtore-houſe.

As Havre is one of the ſix general arſenals for the whole marine of France, there is every thing in it that might be expected at ſuch a place. The powder magazine for the marine is without the town, in the way to the citadel, and on the ſide of the Seine: juſt by it is a guard-houſe, and a centinel is placed at the door of the magazine; it is bomb proof, and can contain 200,000 weight of powder.

Be-

A. D. 1759. Beſides, many of the boats were over-turned and damaged by the exploſion of the ſhells. This ſevere attack threw the inhabitants into ſuch a conſternation, that they forſook the town; it alſo brought down the enemy's troops to the ſhore; who appeared to be very numerous, and were very aſſiduous in erecting batteries, and in throwing up intrenchments. There being nothing more to be done by our ſhipping, and the damage done to their magazines and boats having diſabled the enemy from carrying this part of the plan of invaſion into force, Admiral Rodney weighed anchor and returned for England, with very inconſiderable loſs; though a great number of their ſhot and ſhells fell and burſt among the bombs and boats.

Its effects.

Admiral Rodney returns.

Encouragement for land forces.

It was alſo thought neceſſary to be well provided with land forces. For which purpoſe there appeared an order of council, on the 11th of July, declaring, that all his Majeſty's faithful ſubjects, who ſhould inliſt themſelves in the land ſervice, from that day, ſhould not be ſent out of Great Britain, and ſhould be entitled to their diſcharge at the end of three years, or at the end of the war, as they ſhould chuſe: and that all deſerters, who ſhould rejoin their reſpective regiments, or any other corps, if their own were out of the kingdom, before the 10th of Auguſt, ſhould be pardoned.

Admiral Boſcawen's inſtructions obliged him to proceed from Gibraltar with all expedition, and

to lie before the harbour of Toulon, with the following ſquadron. A. D. 1759.

The Namure	90	The Intrepid	64
Prince	90	Edgar	64
Newark	80	America	64
Culloden	74	St. Alban's	60
Warſpite	74	Jerſey	60
Conqueror	74	Portland	60
Swiftſure	70	Guernſey	50

Beſides fireſhips and frigates.

Admiral Boſcawen ſails to block up Toulon.

Lying before Toulon, with this ſquadron, the Engliſh admiral tried every art to provoke the enemy to come out, and to give him battle. Particularly on the 7th of June, he ordered the Culloden, Captain Callis, the Conqueror, Captain Harland, and the Jerſey, Captain Barker, to ſtand in cloſe to the harbour's mouth, and to burn two ſhips, there at anchor. But the French admiral would not move: and the wind dropping to a ſtark calm, the three Engliſh men of war were expoſed to a continual fire from numberleſs batteries; were deprived of the means to deſtroy two forts, which muſt be done before they could attempt the ſhips, and obliged to retire, which they did, with ſome difficulty, and with the help of ſmall craft, that towed them off. By this accident the Culloden was extremely ſhattered; and a great many men were killed and wounded. But this rather ſharpened the reſentment, than dampt the ſpirits of the ſailors, who looked upon the inactivity of the French fleet with contempt, and were

A gallant action.

Miſcarries.

Encouрages the people.

A. D. 1759. were impatient for an opportunity to revenge the loſs in this action.

Another gallant action at Breſt. An action equally brave and extraordinary, but more ſucceſsful, was performed on the 14th of July, by a detachment from the grand fleet under Admiral Hawke, in the Bay of Biſcay. This admiral had ordered Captain Harvey of the Monmouth, with the Pallas frigate, Captain Clements, to lie as cloſe as poſſible to Breſt harbour, to watch the French fleet. Captain Harvey complied ſo punctually with his orders, that a boat could not eſcape him, either going in, or coming out. In this ſituation he diſcovered four ſhips attempting to ſlip into Breſt, between the ſhore and the rocks, about the paſſage Du Tour; Captain Harvey immediately got under ſail, and with the Pallas frigate plied up to the ſhips, that were now come to an anchor cloſe to the forts, and to a battery that fired upon the Monmouth and Pallas, and bombarded them the whole time they were going in. This briſk fire, however, did not diſcourage the Engliſh. The boats ſet every thing at defiance, cut away and brought off, the four ſhips, which had hoiſted Sweediſh colours, and were laden with cannon, &c. for the French fleet at Breſt; under the favour of the guns of the Monmouth and Pallas, which kept ſuch hot and continual fire upon the forts, that they drove the people and ſoldiers from their poſts; ſo that the prizes were carried quite off by the Pallas with very little damage to our veſſels, and no loſs of men, the Monmouth remaining oppoſite to the

Prizes taken and carried off.



The Hon.ble AUGUSTUS HERVEY.



forts till they were out of danger: though there were four flags flying in the harbour, and twenty ships of the line fit for the sea. But Conflans, that commanded the Brest fleet, had no better stomach to launch into the ocean, where he was sure to meet with Admiral Hawke, than M. de Clue, who commanded at Toulon. Or, perhaps, neither of them had instructions to sail, except the coast was found clear of the English fleet. A conjecture strongly grounded upon the future conduct of both those admirals. For neither of them ventured out of their respective ports, till they had certain advice of the English fleets being driven off their coasts. A. D. 1759.

Admiral Boscawen being obliged by the foulness of the weather and the bad condition of his ships to return to Gibraltar to refit; he, strongly possessed with an opinion, that M. de la Clue would take the advantage of his absence to steal through the streights, got the Lyme and Gibraltar frigates ready with all possible dispatch, and sent the Lyme to cruise off Malaga, and the Gibraltar to cruise from Estepona to Ceuta Point, to look out and to give him timely notice of the enemy's approach. La Clue acted the very part, as had been conjectured. He finding the coast clear of the English squadron, weighed anchor, and by steering close under the Barbary shore, he was in hopes to escape the vigilance of the fleet in Gibraltar Bay; and was got almost the length of Ceuta, when the Gibraltar made a signal, about eight in the evening of the 17th of July, that she saw

Admiral Boscawen returns to Gibraltar to refit.

La Clue with the Toulon fleet sails.

Discovered.

A. D. 1759. saw 14 ſhips to the eaſtward of that place. Admiral Boſcawen loſt not a moment: the whole fleet* was got under ſail and out of the bay before ten. At day break the admiral ſaw the Gibraltar, and ſoon after he ſaw ſeven ſail of large ſhips lying-to. They threw out a ſignal, which not being anſwered by the Engliſh ſhips, they made ſail from them; but not with that advantage, as on ſome former occaſions had been repreſented concerning the ſwift ſailing of the French men of war; for by the help of a freſh gale, the Engliſh fleet gained upon them very faſt, till about noon; when it fell little wind. However the chaſe continued in the beſt manner poſſible; and about half an hour paſt two ſome of the headmoſt ſhips began to engage. But the Admiral's ſhip, Namure, could not get up to the Ocean, on board of which was M. de la Clue, till near four o'clock. Their fire was terrible: in about half an hour the Namure had her mizen-maſt and both topſail-yards ſhot away. The Ocean, under a ſuppoſition, that the Admiral's ſhip was ſo diſabled as not in a condition to purſue, made all the ſail ſhe could to get out of harms way. But Admiral Boſcawen ſhifted his flag to the Newark. Soon after the Centaur of 74 guns ſtruck. The purſuit continued all night; of which two of the enemy's beſt ſailors took the advantage and got off. So that in the morning there remained no more than four ſhips in ſight; and they were

Purſued by Admiral Boſcawen.

Attacked.

The French fly.

* Fourteen ſail of the line, the Shannon and Ætna fire-ſhips.

ſtanding

ſtanding in for the land, at the diſtance of about three miles from the Engliſh ſquadron, and 15 miles from the ſhore, with very little wind. The Ocean, rather than renew the battle, ran amongſt the breakers, and the other three in her company came to an anchor. The Intrepid and America were ordered to deſtroy the Ocean. Captain Pratten having anchored could not get in: But Captain Kirke performed that ſervice alone. On his firſt firing, the Ocean ſtruck, M. de la Clue, who had one leg broken and the other wounded in the engagement the day before, being landed about half an hour. Captain Kirke's officers were ſent to take her in poſſeſſion; M. le Compte de Carne the captain, and ſeveral officers and men on board. But there appearing no poſſibility to bring the ſhip off, they ſet her on fire. Captain Bentley of the Warſpright, had better fortune. He was ordered againſt the Temeraire of 74 guns, and brought her off with little damage, and all her officers and men. In the mean time Rear Admiral Broderick, with his diviſion, burnt the Redoubtable, deſerted by her officers and men, and alſo bulged; and brought off the Modeſte of 64 guns, very little damaged.

A. D. 1759. Purſued. Ships taken, &c.

To review this victory; we can't pitch upon one more advantageous to Great Britain; and purchaſed at ſo cheap a rate. By this a chief branch of that force[t] intended to execute their grand

Remarks.

[t] *Liſt of the French ſquadron, under the command of M. de la Clue.*

L'Ocean, 80 guns, M. de la Clue. — Le Redoubtable, 74 guns, M. de St. Agnan, burnt. — Le Centaure, 74 guns, Sabran

A. D. 1759. grand project of an invaſion was lopt off; the ſpirits of their ſeamen were depreſſed; and England was no longer obliged to maintain ſo expenſive a fleet, as heretofore in the Mediterranean. All this obtained with the loſs of only 56 men killed, and 196 wounded[u], though there was little difference in the ſtrength of the two ſquadrons. For, if the Engliſh had a ſuperiority of two ſhips of the line; the French ſhips were of a much larger bulk, and had a ſuperiority in number of men. So that the two fleets were pretty near of equal force. But it appears evidently that M. de la Clue was deficient in courage, and wanted the conduct of Mr. Boſcawen. It is difficult to ſay, whether the cowardice of the French, or the bravery of the Engliſh were greateſt. Nothing can exculpate la Clue, except he had inſtructions to avoid an engagement, and to try any means, but a battle, to reach Breſt. For any officer of judgment and ſpirit will always, though inferior in ſtrength, think it his duty to form the line and

bran Grammont, taken. — Le Souverain, 74 guns, Panat.— Le Guerrier, 74 guns, Rochemore, eſcaped.—Le Temeraire, 74 guns, Caſtillon l'Aine, taken. — Le Fantaſque, 64 guns, Caſtillon Cadet, loſt company. — Le Modeſte, 64 guns, Du Jac Monvert, taken.—Le Lion, 64 guns, Colbert Turgis; Le Triton, 64 guns, Venel; Le Fier, 50 guns, Marquiſan; L' Oriflamme, 50 guns, Dabon, loſt company coming thro' the Streights.—La Chimere, 26 guns, Sauchet; La Minerve, 24 guns, Le Chev. d'Opede; La Gracieuſe, 24 guns, Le Chev. de Febry, loſt company coming through the Streights.

[u] Thirteen of the killed and 44 wounded, were on board Admiral Boſcawen's ſhip.

fight,

fight, inſtead of ſeparating his ſhips and running away. Yet the French commander juſtifies this action in a letter to the French ambaſſador at Liſbon[w] A. D. 1759.

But

[w] *Tranſlation of a letter from M. de la Clue to the Count de Merie, ambaſſador of France at the court of Liſbon, dated Lagos, Auguſt* 28.

I was not in a condition to write to your excellency when I diſpatched a domeſtic to inform you of the diſaſter that had befallen the King's ſquadron under my command. I paſſed the Streights in the night between the 16th and 17th of Auguſt, with twelve ſhips of the line and three frigates. I was not afraid of meeting Admiral Boſcawen, though his ſquadron was ſtronger than mine; but by an unaccountable fatallity, five of my ſhips and three frigates parted from me, ſo that next morning at day-break I found I had only ſeven with me; fortunately they were the largeſt, viz. the Ocean, the Redoubtable, the Centaur, the Guerrier, the Souverain, the Temeraire, and the Modeſte. At ſun-riſing we diſcovered eight ſail to windward; I believed them to be my ſhips, and waited for them, keeping as near the wind as poſſible, with very little ſail. In a little time their number increaſed ſo much, that we counted 18. I made no doubt of their being the enemy's fleet. I immediately determined to make all the ſail I could to gain the weather gage, and made the proper ſignal to my ſhips; but I was obliged to wait for the Souverain, which is a heavy ſailor, and by that means the enemy got up with me ſooner than they would otherwiſe have done. Whilſt the wind blew a briſk gale, they had no advantage over us; but at noon the wind dying away, I found that they ſailed much better than we. At half an hour after two, the Centaur, Captain de Sabran, which was in the rear, was attacked by two ſhips, one on the larboard, the other on the ſtarboard ſide, and defended herſelf with uncommon bravery. The Guerrier was attacked ſoon after; then the Ocean and the Souverain. The heat of the action was with theſe four ſhips, each of which

A. D. 1759. But the French did not give up their proſpect of invading us. The embarkation of troops, and

French reſolution to invade us continues.

fought both ſides of the ſhip without intermiſſion. Admiral Boſcawen, who came down upon me with all the ſail he could make, came athwart me within gun-ſhot, about four o'clock, and poured a furious broadſide into me, which I returned, and my ſhot were ſo well aimed that his mizen-maſt was carried away, his main top-ſail yard came in two upon the deck, the ſprite-ſail yard and the jack-ſtaff were cut away, all his ſails were torn, and he ſheered off to be out of the reach of my fire. I was ſtruck at this time with a piece of iron, which made a large wound in my right leg, and broke my left leg; ſo that I was forced to leave the Count de Carne to fight the ſhip. Never was ſuch a fire ſeen as my ſquadron kept up. I have all the reaſon in the world to believe, that if I had had all my ſhips I ſhould have beat them. The Engliſh admiral, on leaving me, fell upon the Centaur, and made the fifth ſhip which ſhe had to engage; ſo that ſhe was forced to ſtrike after performing prodigies of valour. At night the engagement ceaſed; the enemy kept the wind under an eaſy ſail.

I cannot expreſs to your excellency the valour and courage ſhewn by our ſhips companies, which did not ſlacken one moment. The enemy's ſuperiority did not frighten them. This was, no doubt, owing to the example of the officers, who diſcovered a courage truly heroic. My ſhip fired 2500 cannon ſhot. I judge that we had about 100 killed on the ſpot, and 70 wounded; one garde pavillon was killed, and ſeveral officers were wounded. We employed the night in preparing for a ſecond engagement; but the Count de Panat, who commanded the Souverain, and M. de Rochemore, Captain of the Guerrier, left me in the night, which greatly diminiſhed the force of my ſquadron, and daunted the courage of my people.

On the 18th, at day break, the enemy crowded ſail to come up with me. I then judged my ruin unavoidable. Finding myſelf on the coaſt of Portugal, I determined to burn the King's ſhips there, rather than ſurrender them to the enemy.

I ran

and the equipment of the ſquadrons under the command of Conflans and Thurot were not diſcontinued. The defeat at Lagos was a ſevere check. But the French miniſtry having loſt all hopes of recovering the poſſeſſion of Hanover, after the battle of Minden, and therewith the means of making an advantageous peace; they had no reſource left but to avail themſelves of a favourable opportunity to throw a powerful army into England and Scotland, or Ireland: as could be moſt conveniently done. A. D. 1759.

I ran the Ocean on ſhore two leagues from Lagos, under the fort called Almadana, and ſent notice to the commander of that fort, who fired three cannon-ſhot at the Engliſh, but they paid no regard to them. The Marquis de St. Aignan alſo ran his ſhip on ſhore, and both of us endeavoured to land our men, but the ſea being rough, this took up a great deal of time. M. de Caſtillon, captain of the Temeraire, and M. de Mouvre, captain of the Modeſte, did not follow my example, but anchored as near as they could to the forts Exavier and Lagres, hoping that the Engliſh would reſpect thoſe forts; but they paid no regard to them, and came and anchored cloſe by the two French ſhips, which they fought until they ſtruck.

One of the enemy's ſhips came and anchored behind the Ocean, and fired into her and into the boats that were carrying the men on ſhore. The Count de Carne, finding he could not get out of the ſhip, was forced to ſtrike his colours, and to ſurrender priſoner, with M. Darbaud, and the Chevalier de Glandeves, M. de Suffrim, the chevalier de Damas, and five inferior officers; the reſt were ſoldiers with ſome gunners, making in all about 60, whom the Engliſh took on board, and ſet fire to the veſſel, which was burnt in the night.

I was carried on ſhore, and paſſed the night with the officers and the wounded men, without either bread or water.——

A. D. 1759. Our fears leſſened.

On the part of Great Britain, our fears were leſſened, and our naval power more at liberty to counteract, and repel this ſcheme, by the ruin brought upon their preparations for an embarkation at Havre; and by the victory over the ſquadron commanded by M. de la Clue. The whole ſtrength of the enemy was now blocked up by the two ſquadrons commanded by Sir Edward Hawke before Breſt, and Commodore Boys before Dunkirk.

Sir Edward Hawke blocks up Breſt.

Sir Edward Hawke had ſailed from Portſmouth, as obſerved, to his ſtation on the 17th of May. He was joined next day, at Torbay, by Sir Charles Hardy, with a fleet from Plymouth. This grand fleet deprived the French of the uſe of thoſe extraordinary preparations carried on for embarking troops at Vannes and Nantz, as well as for the men of war at Breſt and Rochefort. It not only kept that coaſt in continual alarm: but a boat could not eſcape their vigilance. Of which we have given a clear proof in the capture made by Captain Hervey. There was no proſpect of carrying their ſcheme into execution from this coaſt, but under favour of a boiſtrous ſeaſon, which perhaps, towards winter might oblige this formidable guard upon their harbours to return into their own ports. Accordingly on the 12th of October, a violent gale of wind, which gathered into an irreſiſtible ſtorm, furniſhed the French admiral with a completion of his wiſhes. Sir Edward was driven from before Breſt, and forced, with the

Driven to Plymouth, &c. by tempeſtuous weather.

the greateſt part of his fleet, into Plymouth ſound; where he arrived next day. A. D. 1759.

This good fortune of our enemy, brought about by the wind, was attended by the favourable releaſe of Thurot's [x] ſquadron from Dunkirk; which found an opportunity to ſlip out to the northward, without being diſcovered by Commodore Boys; who, upon the firſt information, ſailed immediately in purſuit of him. But he eſcaped both him, and other ſquadrons, by entering the port of Gottenburg, in Sweden; where he was laid up till after Chriſtmas by the ſeverity of the weather, and the want of neceſſaries to enable his ſhips and men to keep the ſeas. Such was the wretched condition of the French at this time, that they were not able to fit out this little ſquadron, as the ſervice required! Thurot ſails out of Dunkirk.

M. Conflans was not ſo capable of improving the firſt moments of his opportunity. Though the greateſt part of the Engliſh fleet had been driven off the coaſt by a ſtorm, he could not think it prudent to riſk his grand fleet in the midſt of that boiſterous ſea: neither could he for ſome time, nor, perhaps, till the French ſpies in England ſhould aſcertain the truth of the report, know that the Engliſh fleet was returned home; the coaſt being continually alarmed by the detachments from Sir Edward Hawke's fleet, to give

[x] Thurot had been commander of the Marſhal de Belleiſle privateer, and was rewarded with this command of a royal ſquadron of ſix ſhips, to invade or alarm the coaſts of Scotland and Ireland, with 1800 men.

A. D. 1759. him intelligence of every motion of the enemy. Therefore we find that the Engliſh fleet under Sir Edward Hawke, Sir Charles Hardy, and Admiral Geary, to the number of 20 ſail of men of war, had ſailed again, on the 18th, from Plymouth for his ſtation off Breſt, and was driven a ſecond time, and obliged to come to an anchor in Torbay on the 9th of November; before Conflans moved.

Conflans ſails from Breſt. This was the critical moment. Conflans muſt ſail; or Thurot's enterprize muſt prove abortive. Hawke muſt defeat Conflans; or the fate of Britain muſt be deſperate. But the ſituation of the ſeveral parts of the French armament, was of great diſadvantage to their expedition, in its ſetting out. The men of war were at one port; the tranſports at others, and liable to be intercepted by the Engliſh cruiſers. Which obliged their fleet to waſte a conſiderable time in making the neceſſary diſpoſitions for their ſafety, as well as in waiting for their embarkation. Neither could ſuch an extraordinary fleet be preparing for their departure without being ſeen by the Engliſh cruiſers, that were daily looking into the ports, where this armament had the leaſt connection. So that M. Conflans was ſoon diſcovered, when put to ſea. This was about 24 leagues to the N. W. of Belleiſle, ſteering to the eaſtward.

Admiral Hawke adviſed thereof. This advice met Sir Edward Hawke at ſea; after he had ſailed from Torbay on the 13th, and again on the 14th; being forced back a third time by contrary winds. Sir Edward, convinced by this intelligence, that the Breſt fleet was certainly out, ſet both the ſeaſon and the element at defiance.

The

The ſeverity of the weather; the tempeſtuouſneſs of the ſeas; and even the adverſity of the wind, ſerved only to heighten his zeal; to double his diligence, and to rack his underſtanding, to exert every ability of an old experienced navigator. His ſoul was impreſſed with the fatal conſequences of miſſing the enemy: and, devoting his body to the ſervice of his country, he, like the God of the ſeas, made uſe of the ſtormy winds and tempeſt to conduct him and his ſquadron, over billows, mountains high, ſailing, as it were, upon the wings of the wind, till he deſcried the enemy, fluttering at his appearance, as a bird at the ſight of a Hawke. A. D. 1759. How bravely and effectually he executed his orders.

How naturally did our admiral trace the courſe of the enemy. His own judgment directed his courſe. If Conflans was ſailed, he judged from their other preparations, that the enemy's fleet muſt firſt rendezvous at Quiberon Bay. Thither the brave Hawke directed his courſe with a preſſed ſail: and, as it were by inſtinct, he preſerved this ſcent ſo well, that on the 20th, at half paſt eight in the morning, Sir Edward found the enemy, who had ſailed from Breſt on the 14th, in the very ſituation he expected [w]. Never did there appear more joy;

[w] At his firſt parting from Torbay, the wind blew hard at S. by E. and S. which drove him conſiderably to the weſtward. But on the 18th and 19th, though variable, it came about more favourable. In the mean time being joined by the Maidſtone and Coventry frigates, Sir Edward ordered them to keep ahead of the fleet, one on the ſtarboard, the other on the larboard bow. And on the 20th, at half paſt eight in the morning, the Maidſtone made the ſignal for ſeeing a fleet, Belleiſle bearing E. by N. quarter N.

A. D. 1759. never more impatience, nor contempt of danger. Neither the ſea, that ran mountain-high; nor a violent ſtorm of wind; nor the whole navy of France, in a manner collected together; nor the greateſt danger of an unexplored hoſtile coaſt, ſown thick with ſands and rocks, were ſufficient to divert him one moment from the object of his inſtructions and orders. The ſignal was given at firſt for a line a-breaſt, in order to draw the fleet together; and at three quarters paſt nine obſerving the enemy to make off, the admiral threw out a ſignal for the ſeven ſhips neareſt them to chaſe, and draw into a line of battle ahead of him. Each ſhip emulated another in the execution of their admiral's command; deſcending from the ſummits of watery mountains, they pounced the enemy, and never parted with them, till this mighty fleet was totally deſtroyed: and in its ruins was buried the maritime power of France.

Defies all dangers.

Motives. Admiral Hawke, who had long been the darling of the people of England, for his abilities and courage at ſea, ſtood at this juncture of time a-tiptoe in their future eſteem. Their fears had been heightened to a great degree by the ſailing of Thurot from Dunkirk, and they were increaſed to ſuch a pitch, by the opportunity given to M. Conflans, on the retreat of Admiral Hawke from the bay; that every diſaſter, or bad conſequence following this retreat, would have ſo ſtunned the Engliſh, that they would have allowed no excuſe, nor conſidered the irreſiſtible power of the wind and the ſeas, that drove him home: but made him

him reſponſible for the misfortunes, which it was not poſſible for any one, in his circumſtances, to prevent, by any other means than Admiral Hawke had done, and was eager to do. Amidſt all the horrors of two enraged elements he began a furious engagement. A. D. 1759.

His firſt endeavours, when he diſcovered the ſhyneſs of the enemy, was to ſtop them till he could collect his ſquadron in that tempeſtuous ſea. This was the reaſon for drawing into a line of battle ahead of him. The ſame ſignal for forming in a line ahead was made to the reſt of the ſhips, that no time might be loſt in the purſuit. About eleven Sir Edward was joined by the Rocheſter, Chatham, Portland, Falkland, Minerva, Vengeance and Venus; and in the evening by the Saphire from Quiberon Bay [x]. M. Conflans kept going off with all the ſail his ſquadron could carry, and at the ſame time keep together. And the Engliſh fleet crouded after him with every ſail our ſhips could bear. By this diligence the firing began ahead at half an hour paſt two P. M. when alſo Sir Edward threw out his ſignal for engaging. The Engliſh were then to the ſouthward of Belleiſle, and the French admiral headmoſt, ſoon after led round the Cardinals, while his rear was in action. About four o'clock the Formidable ſtruck; a little after, the Theſée and Superbe were ſunk: and about five the Heros

Enemy diſcovered.

Chaſed.

Engaged.

Defeated.

[x] All the day they had very freſh gales at N. W. and W. N. W. with heavy ſqualls.

A. D. 1759. ſtruck and came to an anchor: but it blowed ſo hard that no boat could be ſent on board of her.

The ſea and the night obliging Sir Edward to give over the chaſe, he made a ſignal to anchor [y]. Many guns of diſtreſs were fired in the night, but it blowed ſo hard, that it was not poſſible to give them any relief; whether they were friends or foes. By day-break of the 21ſt, the Reſolution, one of our ſhips, was ſeen diſmaſted aſhore on the Tour. The French Heros and the Soliel Royal, which had anchored amongſt the Engliſh Run away. fleet under cover of the night, cut and run aſhore to the weſtward of Crozie: and what was more unfortunate, the Eſſex, who by a ſignal from the admiral, ſlipt and purſued the Soliel Royal, ran upon the Tour alſo, and both ſhe and the Reſolution were irrecoverably loſt [z], notwithſtanding all the aſſiſtance was given, that the weather would permit. As ſoon as it was broad day-light there

[y] Night, ſays Sir Edward Hawke, in his account of this day's action, was now come, and being on a part of the coaſt, among iſlands and ſhoals, of which his people were totally ignorant; without a pilot, as was the greateſt part of the ſquadron; and it blowing hard on a lee ſhore, he made the ſignal to anchor, and came to in 15 fathom water; the iſland of Dumet bearing E. by N. between two and three miles, the Cardinals W. half S. and the ſteeple of St. Crozie S. E.

[z] About 84 of the Reſolution's company, in ſpite of the ſtrongeſt remonſtrances of the captain, made rafts, and with ſeveral French priſoners, belonging to the Formidable, put off and were loſt. All the Eſſex's were ſaved, with as many of the ſtores as poſſible, except one lieutenant and a boat's crew, who were drove on the French ſhore. The remains of both ſhips were ſet on fire.

appeared

appeared ſeven or eight of the enemy's line of battle ſhips at anchor between Point Pennis and the river Villaine. Sir Edward made a ſignal to weigh, in order to work up and attack them again: but the wind increaſed, and blew ſo hard from the N. W. that inſtead of daring to caſt the ſquadron looſe, he was obliged to ſtrike top-gallant maſts: and though moſt of thoſe ſhips, belonging to the enemy, appeared to be aground at low water; they all, except two, got, that night, into the river Villaine, being lightened, and by the help of the flood, and of the wind under the land. A. D. 1759.

On the 22d, the weather being moderate, the Portland, Chatham and Vengeance, were ſent to deſtroy the Soliel Royal and the Heros: and other ſhips were detached to deſtroy the two ſhips at the mouth of the Villaine. But the French, on the approach of the Engliſh ſhips, ſet fire to the Soliel Royal. The Heros met with the ſame fate from our people; and the two ſhips without the Villaine eſcaped up the river with the tide of flood. However Sir Edward Hawke did not give over all thoughts of ferretting the enemy in this river; where, by reconnoitring, he found ſeven or eight line of battle ſhips about half a mile within, quite light, and defended by two frigates moored acroſs the river's mouth; which is very narrow, and has but 12 feet water on the bar, at low water. Therefore 12 long boats were fitted out, as fireſhips, ready to attempt the burning of them, under the cover of the Sapphire and Coventry: but the weather and the wind would not permit him to put this deſign in execution. Attempts to burn the ſhips in the Villaine.

A. D. 1759. Remarks on this battle.

Thus ended this ever memorable action, in which the French had four capital ſhips deſtroyed, one taken, and the remnant ſo diſabled, that their naval power was never in a condition to attempt any thing more during Mr. PITT's adminiſtration: which put an end to the national dread of an invaſion: and on which there can be no better remarks, than were made by Sir Edward himſelf, in his letter to Mr. Clevland, ſecretary to the admiralty.—"In attacking a flying enemy it was "impoſſible, in the ſpace of a ſhort winter's day, "that all our ſhips ſhould be able to get into "action; or all thoſe of the enemy brought to "it. The commanders and companies of ſuch, "as did come up with the rear of the French, "on the 20th, behaved with the greateſt intre-"pidity, and gave the ſtrongeſt proofs of a true "Britiſh ſpirit. In the ſame manner I am ſa-"tisfied, would thoſe have acquitted themſelves, "whoſe bad-going ſhips, or the diſtance they "were at in the morning, prevented them from "getting up." The loſs of our fleet was not conſiderable. It was occaſioned more by the weather, than by the enemy: for in the ſhips, which were muſtered on the 24th, there was found only one lieutenant and thirty-nine ſeamen and marines killed, and about 202 wounded [a]. "When I "con-

[a] *Liſt of ſhips with Sir Edward Hawke, Nov.* 20, 1759.

Ships.	Guns.	Men.	
Royal George	100	880	Sir Edward Hawke. Captain Campbell.
Union	90	770	Sir Charles Hardy. Capt. Evans.

Duke

"consider, says Sir Edward, the season of the A. D.
"year, the hard gales on the day of action, a 1759.
"flying

Ships.	Guns.	Men.	
Duke	90	750	Capt. Graves.
Namure	90	780	—— Buckle.
Mars	74	600	James Young, Esq; commodore.
Warspight	74	600	Sir John Bentley.
Hercules	74	630	Capt. Forteſcue.
Torbay	74	700	Hon. Capt. Keppel.
Magnanime	74	700	Right Hon. Lord Howe.
Reſolution	74	600	Capt. Speke.
Hero	74	600	Hon. Capt. Edgcumbe.
Swiftſure	70	520	Sir Tho. Stanhope.
Dorſetſhire	70	520	Capt. Dennis.
Burford	70	520	—— Gambier.
Chicheſter	70	520	—— Willet.
Temple	70	520	—— Waſh. Shirley.
Revenge	64	480	—— Storr.
Eſſex	64	480	—— Obrien.
Kingſton	60	400	—— Shirley.
Intrepid	60	420	—— Mapleſden.
Montague	60	420	—— Rowley.
Dunkirk	60	420	—— Digby.
Defiance	60	420	—— Baird.

The following frigates joined Sir Edward Hawke, between Uſhant and Belleiſle.

Rocheſter	50	350	Capt. Duff.
Portland	30	350	—— Arbuthnot.
Faulkland	50	350	—— Fr. Sam. Drake.
Chatham	50	350	—— John Lockart.
Minerva	32	220	—— Hood.
Venus	36	240	—— Hatriſon.
Vengeance	28	200	—— Nightingale.
Coventry	28	200	—— Burſlem.
Maidſtone	28	200	—— Diggs.
Saphire	32	220	—— Strachan.

List

A. D. 1759. "flying enemy, the ſhortneſs of the day, and the "coaſt we were on, I can boldly affirm, that all "that could poſſibly be done, has been done.

Liſt of the French ſquadron which came out of Breſt, Nov. 14. 1759.

Ships.	Guns.	Men.	
Le Soliel Royal	80	1200	M. Conflans, admiral.
Le Tonnant	80	1000	M. Beaufremont, vice-admiral.
Le Formidable	80	1000	M. de St. André du Verger, rear-admiral.
L'Orient	80	1000	M. Gubriant, Chef d'Eſcadre.
L'Intrepide	74	815	
Le Glorieux	74	815	
Le Theſée	74	815	
L'Heros	74	815	
Le Robuſte	74	815	
Le Magnifique	74	815	
Le Juſte	70	800	
Le Superbe	70	800	
Le Dauphin	70	800	
Le Dragon	64	750	
LeNorthumberl.	64	750	
Le Sphinx	64	750	
Le Solitaire	64	750	
Le Brillant	64	750	
L'Eillé	64	750	
Le Lavare	64	750	
L'Inflexible	64		
L'Hebé	40		
La Veſtale	34		
L'Aigrette	36		
Le Calypſo	16		

Le Prince Noir, a ſmall veſſel to look out.

The above ſhips were all in company when the action began, except the Hebé frigate.

"As





Sir Edw.d Hawke
Admiral of the White.

" As to the loſs we have ſuſtained; let it be A. D.
" placed to the account of the neceſſity I was un- 1759.
" der of running all riſks to break this ſtrong
" force of the enemy. Had we had but two hours
" more day-light, the whole had been totally de-
" ſtroyed, or taken; for we were almoſt up with
" their van, when night overtook us."

Sir Edward Hawke did not confine his attention to the Villaine. He detached Captain Young to Quiberon-bay with five ſhips; and he made up a flying ſquadron, to ſcour the coaſt on the Iſle of Aix, and to ſeek out and attempt the enemy, where-ever to be found, if practicable. A flying ſquadron.

The modeſty with which Sir Edward Hawke penned the foregoing account does, in juſtice to his bravery, require ſome few additional obſervations. Sir Edward, in the beginning of the action, ordered his ſhip, the Royal George, to reſerve her fire, to paſs by all the others, and to be laid alongſide the Soliel Royal; the moſt powerful ſhip in the French navy. The maſter remonſtrated on the great danger of the coaſt, in the navigation of ſuch a capital ſhip. Sir Edward anſwered, " You have done your duty in this remonſtrance; now obey my orders, and lay me alongſide the French admiral." His intention was penetrated by the enemy; and the Superbe, a 70 gun ſhip, endeavouring to cover M. Conflans's ſhip, throwing herſelf in between, obliged Sir Edward to beſtow on her the fire, he had reſerved for a more noble object; and was ſent to the bottom by one broad- Further particulars of Sir Edward Hawke's bravery.

A. D. 1759. broadside. A dreadful spectacle to behold! Though victory animated the crew of the Royal George, to exult with joy at their success, yet their natural generosity and humanity, as Englishmen, were so sensibly touched, at the miserable fate of 800 [b] poor creatures, that it struck a damp upon their triumphing cheer. The Royal George was not satisfied with this victim to British courage: she continued her course towards the Soliel Royal, with all the sail she could make. As she advanced, the Royal George received the fire of six more ships, and M. Conflans welcomed Sir Edward Hawke with a broadside. The English admiral returned it with becoming spirit, and followed his charge so briskly and effectually, that M. Conflans, after three broadsides, sheered off. Sir Edward turned his metal upon the vice-admiral, who very soon followed the example of his superior. The Royal George dealt death and destruction where-ever she came: and she was everywhere. None were able to stand against her steady and dreadful fire: but it can't be said that any one of the enemy's ships fought fairly, and made a proper resistance, except the Formidable; on board of which sailed the rear-admiral. She was engaged singly with the Resolution; and Captain Speke could not force her to strike till the dusk of the evening. How far the Thesée would have

Enemy's ships sunk.

[b] Only twenty were saved out of this number; and they were taken by our men off some pieces of the wreck.

imitated

imitated the bravery of the Formidable, is a matter that was left undetermined by its being ſunk at the ſecond broadſide, in a ſingle encounter with the Torbay. Nevertheleſs M. Conflans and the French court endeavoured to put a good countenance upon this unfortunate affair, full of bombaſt, bravado, inconſiſtency and falſhood. In which it is aſſerted, that Admiral Hawke had left the French coaſt on advice of Conflans's intention to come out and to give him battle: that the Engliſh fleet conſiſted of forty ſail of line of battle, beſides frigates; that he therefore had endeavoured to avoid a general engagement, and to train the enemy amongſt the ſhoals and rocks: that twelve ſhips were employed at once againſt the Formidable; and that they could not make it ſtrike till the rear-admiral, and all his officers, were killed [c]: that he himſelf had given Admiral Hawke ſuch a warm reception, as obliged him to ſheer off: that the Formidable ſtruck to the Royal George: that the Soliel Royal was ſo ſhattered as not to anſwer the helm, and obliged to run a-ſhore in the night: that the Heros was in the ſame condition: that the Superb and Theſée were overſet by a ſquall of wind: that the Orient had drove two of the Engliſh capital ſhips upon the Four; and that he only waited for the junction of M. Bompart's ſquadron [d], to give a good ac-

A. D. 1759.

M. Conflans's fictitious account of this battle.

[c] Moſt of them were drowned in endeavouring to recover the French coaſt on rafts, as above-mentioned. Of which circumſtance M. Conflans avails himſelf in this ſtory.

[d] Expected from the Weſt Indies.

A. D. 1759. count of the enemy [c]. Such were the wretched ſhifts of the Grand Monarch, to keep up the ſpirits

[c] *Extract of a letter publiſhed in the Paris Gazette, from Marſhal Conflans to Comte St. Florentine, ſecretary of marine, dated at Vannes in Bretagne, Nov.* 22, 1759.

Purſuant to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's orders, having received a reinforcement of men out of M. Bompart's ſquadron, I ſailed from Breſt the 14th inſtant, with a deſign to give battle to the Britiſh fleet, who had been making their bravadoes all the laſt ſummer off our harbour; but was deceived in my expectation; for the enemy (as I imagine) being informed of our deſign, had abandoned the coaſt. I cruiſed two days in hopes of their return, but to no purpoſe. At laſt I formed a reſolution to cut off Commodore Duff's ſquadron, conſiſting of twenty ſail of the line, moored in Quiberon-bay. Upon the 20th in the morning, being a little ſouth-weſt of Belleiſle, the weather hazy, and a freſh gale at north-weſt, I ſaw to windward a fleet of ſhips, which I took to be a convoy of victuallers for M. Duff's ſquadron, not judging it poſſible for the enemy's fleet to be ſo near: nevertheleſs, whatever might happen, I made the ſignal for a line of battle. We were not half formed, when the weather clearing up, we could plainly ſee it was the enemy's fleet, conſiſting of forty ſail of the line of battle, beſides frigates, advancing in three diviſions; ſo that we were in a manner ſurrounded. I judged it moſt conducive to the good of his Majeſty's ſervice, to avoid hazarding a general engagement at that time; and rather to train on the enemy through the ſhoals and rocks in the entrance of the river Villaine. At half an hour paſt two in the afternoon, the enemy's van came up with our rear, and were warmly received by Monſ. Verger, who commanded that diviſion: but he, and all his officers, being killed, there being no leſs than twelve of the enemy's ſhips engaged with him, his ſhip, the Formidable, ſtruck at laſt to Admiral Hawke. The Theſée and Superbe were overſet by a ſquall of wind. At half an hour paſt four, a ſhip of three decks, carry-

ſpirits of his ſubjects, and to conceal from them his weakneſs and diſgrace. A. D. 1759.

France, in this blow, may be ſaid to have received a *coup de grace* on her maritime power; in whoſe equipment, this year, her miniſtry had ſtrained every ſinew of their ſtrength. Even her land campaign had ſuffered, to enable her navy to carry the horrors of war into the heart of Great Britain. The miſcarriage of this laſt reſort, by the bravery of Boſcawen and Hawke, deprived the French of their hopes, and effectually brought on their own deſtruction by ſea. The battle of Minden had ruined their deſigns on the continent. They had troops to recruit, to clothe and to pay. There was no proceeding without theſe neceſſaries. But this could not be effected without proper reſources. It would not be done without trade. Trade could not be ſupported without a navy. The laſt action at ſea put an end to their

Fatal effects of this victory to France.

carrying a flag, which I took to be Monſ. Hawke's, came along-ſide the Soliel Royal, where I commanded; but he met with ſuch a warm reception, that he was obliged to ſheer off in a little time; though our rigging and ſails were ſo ſhattered, that the ſhip not anſwering the helm, was obliged to run aſhore in the night; as did the Heros in the ſame condition: nor could we hinder the enemy from burning both ſhips next morning. Mean time the Orient, alone, drove two of their capital ſhips aſhore upon a ſand called Le Four. Next day we had the misfortune to loſe the Juſte upon a rock in the mouth of the river Loire. The remainder of our fleet got ſafe into Rochfort and the river Villaine: and as they have not ſuſtained more damage than may be ſoon repaired, I expect, by the junction of Monſ. Bompart's ſquadron, to be ſoon able to give a good account of the enemy, notwithſtanding they ha e the boldneſs to moor upon our coaſt.

A. D. 1759. maritime ſtrength, and in conſequence, to their foreign trade; and our ſucceſs in America had torn from the French their principal colonies. This obliged the ſtate to have recourſe to very irregular and unjuſt means to raiſe money. They did not ſcruple to raiſe ſupplies, for the enſuing year, by a breach of public faith, rather than attend to the voice of peace, and the means to prevent the effuſion of more blood in a cauſe, which they were ſenſible was both unjuſt, and not in their power to ſupport, with any degree of advantage. But the French miniſtry, on this perilous occaſion, imitated the example of people in deſpair: they reſolved to riſk the public credit, as they had failed in the exertion of their national ſtrength. They ſuffered the French king to become a bankrupt. They ſtopt payment upon public bills and funds[f]. And when this was done, there ſtill remained ſuch a deficiency in the neceſſary ſupplies for another campaign, that the nobility, gentry and clergy, were called upon, by the example of the King

Deplorable ſtate of France.

[f] The French court ſtopt payment of the following public debts, viz. 1. The three kinds of rents created on the poſts. 2. Thoſe conſtituted upon the cheſt of redemptions. 3. The coupons of bills on the ſame cheſt. 4. Thoſe of the two royal lotteries. 5. The reimburſement of bills drawn to bearer on the ſame cheſt. 6. The bills of the two royal lotteries. 7. The rents created on the two ſols per pound of the tenth penny. 8. The reimburſement of the capitals of rents. 9. The payment of bills diſchargeable in nine years, known under the name of annuities. 10. Thoſe of the new actions on the benefit of the farms. 11. All the bills drawn by the colonies upon the government, amounting to 1,333,000 l. ſterling. And 12. All the capitals borrowed for the marine by annuities at Marſeilles.

and

and the royal family, to carry their plate into the mint, to be coined for the neceſſities of the ſtate. A. D. 1759.

Thus we ſee France, the bully of Europe, fallen from its alarming power and greatneſs, into the loweſt diſtreſs and impotence: unfortunate, in its military operations, in every quarter of the globe: beaten all Europe over, by ſea and land: its fleets ſailing only to be deſtroyed: its armies marching only to run away: without trade: without credit: ſtopping payments ſecured upon public faith; proteſting bills: and to all intents and purpoſes become a bankrupt nation. Their King, the Princes of the blood, the nobility and clergy carrying in all their plate to be coined for the preſent extreme exigency of their affairs: diſappointed and baffled in all their ſchemes on the continent, and ſeverely convinced by the deſtruction of the only fleet, they had left, of the vanity of invading the Britiſh iſles, by a power, that can't maintain the dominion of the ſeas.

How glorious was the ſtate of Great Britain! ſucceſs crowned every ſcheme of the miniſtry: and ſupplies were raiſed with eaſe and pleaſure: public credit was eſtabliſhed, and trade and commerce were continually upon the increaſe. Every voice of the people exulted with applauſe on the miniſter at the helm of ſtate; and every purſe was open, at his requeſt, to enable his Majeſty to carry on a juſt, neceſſary and proſperous war. Glorious ſtate of Great Britain.

No ſooner had his Majeſty informed the parliament, That he had received advice of the preparations making by France, with a deſign to in- Wiſdom of the parliament.

A. D. 1759. vade this kingdom, than both houſes aſſured him, that they were ready, with united duty, zeal and affection, to ſtand by, and defend his Majeſty againſt any ſuch preſumptuous and deſperate attempt, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes. Without doors every countenance expreſſed their deteſtation and reſolution to oppoſe a French invaſion. The loyal city of London, by way of example to other corporations, opened a ſubſcription [g] in the city-chamber, for an immediate voluntary contribution, to be paid in bounties for able-bodied landmen, to ſerve his Majeſty as ſoldiers, with the privilege of ſetting up and exerciſing any trade in London, after the expiration of the ſervice: and further they ſubſcribed 1000l. by their chamberlain in behalf of the city. This laudable example was copied by all the opulent corporations in England and Scotland, and by ſeveral pariſhes, companies and even by individuals: and this invitation to a voluntary ſupport of the nation, was ſo well received, that large ſums were collected and appropriated for recruiting the army; to the great ſatisfaction of his Majeſty [h], and the terror

General conduct and joy of the nation.

[g] On the 14th of Auguſt, to be diſtributed by a committee of aldermen and commoners.

[h] The Lord Mayor of London received the following letter from Secretary PITT.

My LORD, Whitehall, Auguſt 1, 1759.

Having, in conſequence of the deſire of the court of common council, had the honour to lay before the King their reſolutions of yeſterday, for offering certain bounties and encourage-

terror of our enemies. So that, notwithſtanding the numerous troops tranſported for the ſervice in diſtant parts of the world, the army was very ſoon in a moſt reſpectable condition; beſides the additional ſtrength, which England began to feel from a conſtitutional militia; of whoſe peculiar ſpirit and ſervice we have an ample record in a moſt dutiful addreſs from the officers of the Norfolk militia [i]. A. D. 1759.

But

couragements to ſuch able-bodied men as ſhall inliſt themſelves at the Guild-Hall of London, to ſerve in his Majeſty's land forces, upon the terms contained in his Majeſty's orders in council: I am commanded by the King to acquaint your Lordſhip (of which you will be pleaſed to make the proper communication) that his Majeſty thanks the city of London for this freſh teſtimony of their zeal and affection for his royal perſon and government.—I am farther commanded by the King to expreſs his Majeſty's moſt entire ſatisfaction in this ſignal proof of the unſhaken reſolution of the city of London, to ſupport a juſt and neceſſary war, undertaken in defence of the rights and honour of his crown, and for the ſecurity of the colonies, the trade and navigation of Great Britain.

I am, with great truth and reſpect,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt obedient humble ſervant,

W. PITT.

i *The humble addreſs of the officers of the two battalions of the Norfolk regiment of militia.*

We your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the officers of the two battalions of the Norfolk regiment of militia, humbly beg leave to lay at your Majeſty's feet the earlieſt aſſurances of our zeal and affection for your ſacred perſon and government. The happineſs, which this nation hath enjoyed, during your Majeſty's glorious reign, entitles you to

A. D. 1759. But our greateſt ſecurity was ſtill in the harmony and unanimity amongſt all ranks of people; and in the confidence and univerſal ſatisfaction, that ſubſiſted between the court and the country. A national happineſs, which cannot be mentioned without a ſenſible feeling of thoſe diſtreſſes, under which England had groaned, and his Majeſty's moſt faithful ſubjects loudly complained of, in their former addreſſes to the throne [k]. How were times mended

every poſſible inſtance of duty from all your ſubjects. But we rejoice in the hopes of having it in our power to realize thoſe profeſſions of allegiance, with which we humbly approach your throne. The arms, with which we are entruſted by your Majeſty, ſhall never be employed in any other cauſe than the defence of your royal perſon and government, which is the defence of the religion and liberties of this country. We are impatient to manifeſt our zeal in ſo glorious a cauſe, and ſhall be ready to obey your Majeſty's commands, in any part of the kingdom, with the alacrity and vigour of ſubjects, who have no intereſt ſeparate from that of their Prince, and of ſoldiers, who are determined to hazard their lives in oppoſing all attempts, that ſhall be made againſt your Majeſty, your royal houſe, and the happy conſtitution, upon which your throne is eſtabliſhed.

[k] *To the King's moſt excellent Majeſty.*

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

We, your Majeſty's dutiful and faithful ſubjects, the mayor, recorder, aldermen, ſheriffs, and common-council of your antient and loyal city of Cheſter, in common-council aſſembled, do, in Behalf of ourſelves, and fellow-citizens, beg leave to approach your throne, and with a fidelity ever diſtinguiſhing this city, endeavour to expreſs our heart-felt concern, at preſent ills, and impending dangers.

We

mended at this happy epocha. Before the defeat of M. Conflans, the whole nation had applauded the wiſdom of his Majeſty's councils and meaſures, and the bravery and conduct of his officers by ſea and land; and acknowledged the importance of our victories and acquiſitions, within the com- A. D. 1759.

We ſee the nation burdened with foreign mercenaries, denied the aid and defence of its natives, grievouſly taxed, and nearly overwhelmed with an immenſe debt; and, by cowardice or treachery, deprived of that once-glorious acquiſition, the Iſland of Minorca, a loſs! accompanied with utter ignominy, and almoſt indelible diſgrace; theſe, together with the dilatory and perplexed ordering of our fleets and armies, both in Europe, and America, and the very little availment of moſt extraordinary ſupplies, too fatally evince a ſtrange miſmanagement among thoſe, to whom the care of the levied treaſures, and public-weal have been, alas! unhappily, intruſted.

Permit us therefore, humbly to intreat your Majeſty, out of regard to your royal ſelf, for the ſake of your illuſtrious houſe, for the ſecurity of the proteſtant ſucceſſion, and for the welfare of your kingdoms, ſoon to direct a full enquiry into the conduct of thoſe, who have, (as it is preſumed), abuſed your authority, and brought diſtreſs and infamy upon theſe nations.

We further, moſt dutifully, and earneſtly deſire, that your people may have their natural and conſtitutional guard, a well-regulated militia, which, we are perſuaded, will prove the moſt effectual and permanent defence of your Majeſty's ſacred perſon, and this much endangered country.

We beg leave likewiſe to add our ſincere profeſſions of a hearty zeal for your Majeſty's ſervice, and that we will always readily contribute, to the utmoſt of our power, to retrieve our loſſes, to guard theſe realms, and to render Great Britain, as heretofore, honoured in peace, and terrible in war.

Given under our common ſeal, this 17th day of September, 1756.

See alſo page 415, &c.

paſs

A. D. 1759. paſs of this diſtinguiſhed and ever-memorable year[1]: well then might his Majeſty open his parlia-

[1] Saturday, October 20, 1759.

This day the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Commons of the city of London, waited on his Majeſty, and being introduced by the Right Hon. Mr. Secretary PITT, made their compliments in the following addreſs:

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

To accept the moſt humble but warmeſt congratulations of your Majeſty's dutiful but loyal ſubjects, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Commons of the city of London, in common-council aſſembled, upon the rapid and uninterrupted ſeries of victories and ſucceſſes, which, under the divine bleſſing, have attended your Majeſty's arms by ſea and land, within the compaſs of this diſtinguiſhed and ever memorable year.

The reduction of Fort Du Queſne on the Ohio; of the Iſland of Goree in Africa; and of Guadalupe, with its dependencies in the Weſt-Indies;—the repulſe and defeat of the whole French army, by a handful of infantry, in the plains of Minden;—the taking of Niagara, Ticonderoga, and Crown Point;—the naval victory off Cape Lagos;—the advantages gained over the French nation in the Eaſt Indies;—and, above all, the conqueſt of Quebec, (the capital of the French empire in North America) in a manner ſo glorious to your Majeſty's arms, againſt every advantage of ſituation and ſuperior numbers, are ſuch events, as will for ever render your Majeſty's auſpicious reign the favourite æra in the hiſtory of Great Britain.

But whilſt we reflect with ſurprize and gratitude upon this laſt and moſt important conqueſt, permit us, moſt gracious Sovereign, to expreſs our great regret for the immenſe (though almoſt only) loſs which has attended it, in the death of that gallant general, whoſe abilities formed, whoſe courage attempted, and whoſe conduct happily effected the glorious enterprize in which he fell, leaving to future times an heroic example of military ſkill, diſcipline and fortitude.

Meaſures

parliament, on the 14th of November, with a declaration, That he eſteemed himſelf particularly happy A. D. 1759.

Meaſures of ſuch national concern, ſo invariably purſued, and acquiſitions of ſo much conſequence to the power and trade of Great Britain, are the nobleſt proofs of your Majeſty's paternal affection and regard for the true intereſt of your kingdoms, and reflect honour upon thoſe, whom your Majeſty has been pleaſed to admit into your councils, or to intruſt with the conduct of your fleets and armies.

Theſe will ever command the lives and fortunes of a free and grateful people, in defence of your Majeſty's ſacred perſon, and royal family, againſt the attempts of all your enemies. And we humbly truſt, that Almighty God will bleſs your Majeſty's ſalutary intentions with a continuance of ſucceſs, and thereby in time lead us to a ſafe and honourable peace.

An extract from the addreſs of the Univerſities of Oxford and Cambridge.

From OXFORD.

The uninterrupted and unparalleled ſeries of ſucceſſes, which have attended your Majeſty's plans of operation, during the courſe of a war ſo uncommonly complicated and extenſive, will ever ſtand diſtinguiſhed with a peculiar luſtre in the annals of Great Britain: Succeſſes equally remarkable for their number, variety and importance: every quarter of the globe having afforded ſcenes for your Majeſty's ſignal triumphs both by ſea and land, and been a witneſs of the repeated diſappointments and defeat of your reſtleſs and ambitious enemies.

Among the numerous and happy effects of your Majeſty's prudent and vigorous meaſures; whether concerted for the ſupport of the proteſtant religion and the liberties of Europe; or more immediately directed towards the preſervation and advancement of the commercial intereſt of your Britiſh dominions; the truly difficult and glorious conqueſt of Quebec (attempted in vain more than once by your royal predeceſſors) doth,

A. D. 1759. happy in being able to call them together, in a ſituation of affairs ſo glorious and advantageous to

doth, on many accounts, demand more particularly our warmeſt congratulations. So valuable and important an acquiſition ſeems to have been reſerved by Providence to compleat and crown all the preceding glories of your Majeſty's moſt auſpicious reign.

From CAMBRIDGE.

The many and ſignal proofs which your Majeſty has given of your conſtant attention to the ſafety, honour, and intereſts of theſe kingdoms, muſt for ever endear your Majeſty's name to all your Britiſh ſubjects.

Your Majeſty's vigorous and effectual ſupport of the proteſtant religion, ſo eſſential to its preſervation againſt the moſt powerful combination of its enemies, will remain a laſting monument of your diſtinguiſhed zeal and ſteadineſs in its defence.

The rapid and victorious progreſs of your Majeſty's arms in America, and the reduction of Quebec, under all the diſadvantages of numbers, and difficulties of ſituation, muſt have made your enemies ſenſible how dangerous it will ever be, by repeated encroachments, to awaken the reſentment of a brave and injured people. Our joy for an event of ſuch importance to theſe kingdoms would have been compleat, had it not been allayed by a loſs which can never be ſufficiently lamented.

Permit us alſo to congratulate your Majeſty on the ſucceſſes of that memorable day, when the bravery of your troops on the plains of Minden, was animated by the juſtneſs of their cauſe, and inſpired by the love of liberty: a day as glorious to their illuſtrious commander, as fatal to the vain hopes of the enemy, who forgetting the common ties of humanity, meant to inſure their ſucceſs by unexampled ravage and deſolation, and, as the inſtruments of arbitrary power, aimed at conqueſt only to enſlave.

The threatened invaſion of theſe kingdoms carries with it the appearance of a laſt effort of an haughty and ambitious power.

power. But we truſt that the united affections and zeal of your Majeſty's ſubjects, and the vigilance and well known integrity of your naval commanders, will, under the divine protection, render any ſuch attempts here impracticable, to thoſe who have fled from us in every other quarter of the world. A. D. 1759.

The following addreſs of the city of Glouceſter was preſented to his Majeſty, and moſt graciouſly received.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

" Amidſt the loud acclamations of univerſal joy, be pleaſed to accept, moſt gracious Sovereign, of the humbleſt and ſincereſt congratulations of your Majeſty's dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the mayor, aldermen, ſheriffs, and common-council, of the ancient city of Glouceſter, in council aſſembled, upon the new and repeated ſucceſſes of your Majeſty's arms in every quarter of the world.

It is our peculiar happineſs to live at a period, that will be ever diſtinguiſhed in the Britiſh annals, by the glory of your Majeſty's conqueſts, the wiſdom and unanimity of your councils, and by the loyalty and affection of all your Majeſty's ſubjects. Under your auſpices the Britiſh arms receive freſh luſtre! nor will any of thoſe victories, renowned in hiſtory, obtained by our anceſtors over the ſame avowed and ever aſpiring enemy, reflect greater honour to the Britiſh name, than the reduction of Guadalupe, the battle of Minden, and the defeat under the walls of Quebec, with the conſequent acquiſition of the metropolis of our enemies in that part of the world, and a whole ſeries of other important ſucceſſes, and favourable events, with which it has pleaſed God to bleſs your Majeſty's arms by ſea and land, in ſo ſmall a compaſs of time.

In the review of many of theſe great atchievements, we behold with joyful ſurprize every obſtacle of art, of nature, of ſituation, of climates, and of ſuperior numbers, overcome by the intrepidity of your Majeſty's troops and naval forces, and the abilities and perſeverance of thoſe, who commanded them: nor doth the victories and acquiſitions of your Majeſty's fleets and armies redound more to the honour, than to the real intereſt and benefit of our country, the welfare and protection of

A. D. 1759. to his crown and kingdom [m]. Yet in the height of theſe exultations, neither univerſal ſucceſs; nor a ſupe-

of our trade, the extention of the proteſtant religion, and the deliverance of ſo many of your Majeſty's ſubjects from the incroachments of their enemies, and all the horror of ſavage cruelty.

Other monarchs often unſheath the ſword from the views of ambition, or for their own glory: but it is yours to protect your ſubjects, their rights and privileges: 'Tis hence, that amidſt the calamities of war, deſtructive to other nations, ſo many real bleſſings are derived to us, and which call forth our higheſt gratitude to that Divine Providence, which has hitherto protected your Majeſty's perſon, and preſerved your life to the happineſs and glory of theſe nations; and may the ſame good Providence crown your Majeſty's unparalleled ſucceſs with an honourable and laſting peace: for while we rejoice, as Britons, we weep like men for the devaſtations of war: we mourn a great man fallen ere his noon of life; who had ſo early run the race of glory; who, like the great Guſtavus, died at the head of his troops, and victory lay bleeding by his ſide. But whilſt, with the univerſal voice, we lament his loſs, we have freſh cauſe for exultation in the ſteadineſs and intrepidity of your Majeſty's troops and ſurviving generals, that ſuffered not the fall of ſo beloved a leader to reſtrain their native ardour, nor the laurels to be ſnatched from their victorious hands. Such examples, under your Majeſty's gracious influence, your known experience in war, and readineſs to diſtinguiſh and reward military virtues, cannot fail to animate your faithful Britons, and give a ſucceſſion of heroes to poſterity."

[m] *The following ſpeech of the Lords Commiſſioners, appointed by his Majeſty for holding this parliament, was delivered by the Lord Keeper to both houſes.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"In purſuance of the authority given to us, by his Majeſty's commiſſion, under the great ſeal, amongſt other things,

to

a ſuperiority of ſtrength; nor the abilities and readineſs of his ſubjects to ſupport him in a vigorous proſecution A. D. 1759.

to declare the cauſe of his holding this parliament, his Majeſty has been graciouſly pleaſed to direct us to aſſure you, that he eſteems himſelf particularly happy, in being able to call you together, in a ſituation of affairs, ſo glorious and advantageous to his crown and kingdoms.

His Majeſty ſees, and devoutly adores, the hand of Providence, in the many ſignal ſucceſſes, both by ſea and land, with which his arms have been bleſſed, in the courſe of the laſt ſummer; and at the ſame time, his Majeſty reflects, with much ſatisfaction, on the confidence, which you placed in him, by making ſuch ample proviſions, and intruſting him with ſuch extenſive powers, for carrying on a war, which the defence of our valuable rights and poſſeſſions, and the preſervation of the navigation and commerce of his Majeſty's people, had made both juſt and neceſſary.

We have it alſo in command from his Majeſty to acquaint you, that the happy progreſs of our ſucceſſes, from the taking of Goree, on the coaſt of Africa, to the conqueſt of ſo many important places in America, with the defeat of the French army in Canada, and the reduction of their capital city of Quebec, effected with ſo much honour to the courage and conduct of his Majeſty's officers both at ſea and land, and with ſo great luſtre to his intrepid forces; together with the important ſucceſs obtained by his Majeſty's fleet off Cape Lagos; and the effectual blocking up, for ſo many months, the principal part of the navy of France, in their own ports; are events, which muſt have filled the hearts of all his Majeſty's faithful ſubjects, as well as his own, with the ſincereſt joy; and, his Majeſty truſts, will convince you, that there has been no want of vigilance, or vigour, on his part, in exerting thoſe means, which you, with ſo much prudence, and public ſpirited zeal, put into his Majeſty's hands.

That our advantages have extended farther; and the divine bleſſing has favoured us in the Eaſt Indies, where the danger-

ous

A. D. 1759. profecution of the war againſt an enemy, that was diſtreſſed for men, money and ſhipping, and for

ous deſigns of his Majeſty's enemies have miſcarried; and that valuable branch of our trade has received great benefit and protection.

That the memorable victory gained over the French, near Minden, has long made a deep impreſſion on the minds of his Majeſty's people. And that, if the criſis in which that battle was fought, the ſuperior numbers of the enemy, and the great and able conduct of his Majeſty's general, Prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, are conſidered; that action muſt be the ſubject of laſting admiration and thankfulneſs. That, if any thing could fill the breaſts of his Majeſty's good ſubjects with ſtill farther degrees of exultation, it is the diſtinguiſhed and unbroken valour of his Majeſty's troops; owned and applauded by thoſe, whom they overcame. The glory, they have gained, is not merely their own; but, in a national view, is one of the moſt important circumſtances of our ſucceſs, as it muſt be a ſtriking admonition to our enemies, with whom they have to contend.

That his Majeſty's good brother and ally the King of Pruſſia, attacked and ſurrounded by ſo many conſiderable powers, has, by his magnanimity and abilities, and the bravery of his troops, been able, in a ſurprizing manner, to prevent the miſchiefs concerted with ſuch united force againſt him.

His Majeſty has farther commanded us to obſerve to you, that as his Majeſty entered into this war, not from views of ambition, ſo he does not wiſh to continue it, from motives of reſentment. The deſire of his Majeſty's heart is, to ſee a ſtop put to the effuſion of chriſtian blood. Whenever ſuch terms of peace can be eſtabliſhed, as ſhall be juſt and honourable for his Majeſty, and his allies; and, by procuring ſuch advantages, as, from the ſucceſſes of his Majeſty's arms, may, in reaſon and equity be expected, ſhall bring along with them full ſecurity for the future; his Majeſty will rejoice to ſee the repoſe of Europe reſtored, on ſuch ſolid and durable

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for every requiſite to defend themſelves by arms, could ſmother his Majeſty's inclination for peace, and A. D. 1759.

foundations; and his faithful ſubjects, to whoſe liberal ſupport and unſhaken firmneſs his Majeſty owes ſo much, happy in the enjoyment of the bleſſings of peace and tranquillity. But in order to this great and deſirable end, his Majeſty is confident you will agree with him, that it is neceſſary to make ample proviſion for carrying on the war, in all parts, with the utmoſt vigour.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

We are commanded by his Majeſty to aſſure you, that the great ſupplies, which were given the laſt ſeſſions, have been faithfully employed for the purpoſes for which they were granted; but the uncommon extent of this war, and the various ſervices neceſſary to be provided for, in order to ſecure ſucceſs to his Majeſty's meaſures, have unavoidably occaſioned extraordinary expences; an account of which will be laid before you.

His Majeſty has alſo ordered the proper eſtimates for the ſervice of the enſuing year to be prepared and laid before you; and his Majeſty deſires you to grant him ſuch ſupplies, as ſhall be neceſſary to ſuſtain and preſs, with effect, all our extenſive operations againſt the enemy; and, at the ſame time, by the bleſſing of God, to repel and fruſtrate their daring deſigns againſt his Majeſty's kingdoms.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

His Majeſty has, in the laſt place, been graciouſly pleaſed to command us to repeat to you, the aſſurances of the high ſatisfaction his Majeſty takes in that union, and good harmony, which is ſo conſpicuous amongſt his faithful ſubjects; happy in ſeeing it continued and confirmed; and to obſerve to you, that experience has ſhewn how much we all owe to it; and that nothing elſe can effectually ſecure the true happineſs of his people.

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A. D. 1759. and thoſe ſparks of humanity, which, on this occaſion, appeared to all the world, was the favourite principle of all his actions, and tempered his truly martial ſpirit with juſtice and mercy.

Remarks on the ſtate of affairs at this juncture.

It has been ſeen that the grand confederacy, at the end of this campaign, had not been able in any meaſure to diſable the King of Pruſſia, nor were in a condition to proſecute their war with more vigour and ſucceſs. The French had failed in their ſcheme to ſurprize Hanover, and were otherwiſe diſconcerted in their future operations, by the battle at Minden. The fleets and armies of Great Britain triumphed where-ever they appeared. There was now no maritime power by ſea, nor any military force to obſtruct our future attempts upon the remains of the French colonies

The houſe of peers waited on his Majeſty, with their addreſs. Wherein they aſſured his Majeſty of their utmoſt readineſs to concur in the effectual ſupport of ſuch further meaſures, as his Majeſty, in his great wiſdom, ſhould judge neceſſary or expedient, for carrying on the war with vigour in all parts, and for diſappointing and repelling any deſperate attempts, which might be made upon theſe kingdoms.

The honourable the Houſe of Commons (by their addreſs) at the ſame time they admire that true greatneſs of mind, which diſpoſes his majeſty's heart, in the midſt of proſperities, to wiſh a ſtop put to the effuſion of chriſtian blood, and tranquility reſtored,—entirely rely on his majeſty's known wiſdom and firmneſs, that that deſirable object, whenever it ſhall be attained, will be on ſuch terms as ſhall be juſt and honourable for his Majeſty and his allies; and in order to effect that great end, aſſure his Majeſty, that they will chearfully grant him ſuch ſupplies as ſhall be found neceſſary to ſuſtain and preſs with effect all our extenſive operations againſt the enemy.

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and settlements. Yet their Britannic and Prussian Majesties, who took up arms for no other purpose than to procure a safe and honourable peace, having first, in a most solemn manner, offered up to heaven their sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, throughout all their dominions, for the mercies and blessings they had received, they, in a god-like manner, more ready to pardon than to punish, made the following declaration [n]: A. D. 1759.

His Britannic Majesty's declaration for peace.

"Their Britannic and Prussian Majesties, moved "with compassion at the mischiefs which the "war, that has been kindled for some years, "has already occasioned, and must necessarily "produce; should think themselves wanting to "the duties of humanity, and particularly to their "tender concern for the preservation and well-"being of their respective kingdoms and subjects, "if they neglected the proper means to put a "stop to the progress of so severe a calamity, "and to contribute to the re-establishment of "public tranquility. In this view, and in order "to manifest the purity of their intentions, in "this respect, their said Majesties have deter-"mined to make the following declaration, viz.

"That they are ready to send plenipotentiaries "to the place, which shall be thought most pro-"per, in order there to treat, conjointly, of a

[n] Translation of the declaration, which his Serene Highness Duke Lewis of Brunswick delivered to the ministers of the belligerant powers, residing at the Hague, in the name of his Britannic Majesty, and the King of Prussia.

A. D. 1759. "solid and general peace, with those whom the "Belligerent parties shall think fit to authorize, on "their part, for the attaining so salutary an end."

Remarks on the conduct of the enemy on this declaration.

The potentates, who had provoked and abetted this war, by their perfidy, encroachments, ambition and hatred; were enraged by disappointments and losses, and were so far from welcoming this invitation to put a stop to the progress of the severe calamity of war, and to re-establish public tranquility, that vengeance was more acceptable to them, than a deliverance from utter ruin; though they did not seem totally abandoned to destructive measures; they avoided giving an immediate answer. By this behaviour they would have persuaded the powers of Europe, of their pacific intentions, and were in hopes, that their silence would be interpreted by Great Britain and Prussia, an inclination to treat conjointly, of a solid and lasting peace. Could the confederates have succeeded in these expectations, and unbraced the nerves of the British and Prussian strength during the winter, or slackened their preparations for a vigorous continuation of the war, they hoped to find an opportunity to insist upon terms more to their advantage: and France, we shall see hereafter, resolved to continue the war in Germany with her miserable resources. But the pacific monarchs were better advised, than to be thus deceived and put off their guard. France had her eye upon Hanover. The Empress-Queen, the Czarina and the Swedes had fixed their hearts upon

Views of France, &c.

upon the partition of the Pruſſian territories. The ſucceſs of any ally in this confederacy, promiſed an advantage to the whole, at a future congreſs. This was not over-looked by the wiſdom of the Britiſh miniſter. Nor could it have any influence upon the reſolution of a Britiſh parliament. Mr. PITT planned with the ſame vigour, and the repreſentatives of the people objected to no expence. Proviſion was made for the worſt: and the plans and ſupplies were ſufficient to compel our enemies to be ſubmiſſive, if they could not teach them to be juſt. A. D. 1759. Conduct of Great Britain.

Yet, there's great reaſon to believe, that France reaped too much good from this pacific overture. Though the Grand Monarch did not deign to accept of ſo kind an invitation; his miniſtry endeavoured to avail themſelves of this generous and humane propoſal. They could not doubt but that there might be found a ſtrong party for putting an end to the war, at any rate, in the council of a king, who ſo publickly declared his deſire of peace. They could judge, from precedents under former kings, and in caſes of a like nature, that neither wiſdom, nor virtue, nor firmneſs, nor ſucceſſes were ſufficient to ſet a miniſter above envy, caprice and oppoſition: and they were very certain, that they ſhould find advocates amongſt the covetous and avaricious, whoſe eſtates were burdened with a land-tax of four ſhillings in the pound; beſides an accumulation of other parliamentary ways and means required, and ſtill increaſing, to ſupport the war. So that, notwith- The uſe made by France of the pacific ſentiments of Great Britain.

A D. 1759. ſtanding the war continued, they did not loſe ſight of this object. Their meaſures were taken from this time, with a particular regard to their future negociations. They tried every expedient to increaſe our national expence, and thereby to make the people weary of the war. They threw all their ſtrength into the German ſcale; and ſtirred up a clamorous party to argue the people into a diſguſt againſt our allies, and into a diſregard of the antient faith of England, never to depart from the ſpirit of treaties, that engage us to protect our allies. And by ſuch means they, in a little time, hoped to find a way into the cabinet, and a party, which, under the pretence of reducing the taxes, and the vaſt expence of the German war, might render every plan abortive, and leave the King of Pruſſia and our other allies at the mercy of our common enemies.

The foundation of the oppoſition to Mr. PITT.

Therefore from this period we are to date the grand oppoſition to Mr. PITT, though he preſerved the entire confidence of his Sovereign. Here we are to look for the principles, and the abetment, by which that oppoſition acted, and was encouraged to thwart, delay and deſtroy the effect of the vigorous ſchemes deſigned for the enſuing year. Here we ſhall find on what the French placed all their hopes of ſecuring an advantageous peace; when they could no longer keep the field.

In what manner begun.

The preſs was employed to diſpoſe the people to look upon the miniſter, to whoſe wiſdom they imputed the glory and importance of thoſe acquiſitions,

ſitions, obtained for Great Britain, in the courſe of this war, as a mere Quixot or Knight-arrant, and upon our ſucceſſes, as ſo many golden pills to purge the nation of her wealth and blood. The neceſſity of putting an end to the war, was become the favourite ſubject of courtiers and ſenators. And it was roundly aſſerted, "That notwithſtanding all the reaſon we have had, of "late, to be ſatisfied with the meaſures of a wiſe "and prudent adminiſtration: notwithſtanding "all the juſt encomiums, ſo freely made on the "conduct of our commanders, and on the intrepidity of our troops; if partiality to ourſelves were entirely laid aſide, we ſhould find "our late ſucceſs no leſs owing to a providential "concurrence of fortunate circumſtances, than "either to miniſterial wiſdom or military valour. "In like manner, were our real ſituation duly "attended to, notwithſtanding the advantages "we have gained of the enemy, we ſhould, perhaps, find little reaſon for our immoderate triumph: perhaps alſo thoſe advantages would "be found leſs deciſive, and the enemy's loſſes "leſs irrepairable; or at leaſt much leſs ruinous "and intollerable, than we now are apt to flatter "ourſelves they are [o]." Thus the French tongue began to find its way once more to Britiſh ears; poiſoned the hearts of ſome; and deceived others; as will be ſeen in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

A. D. 1759.

[o] See a Letter to the People of England, on the Neceſſity of putting an immediate End to the War, p. 4.

A. D. 1759. Remarks.

But how will poſterity, when they ſhall read the mighty deeds of this ever-memorable year in the Britiſh annals, think it poſſible, that an Engliſh pen, and an Engliſh preſs could be thus proſtituted to the ſervice of the natural enemy of their country? How much more ſhall they ſtand amazed, and boil with indignation, when they ſhall find all the frenchified arguments for a peace, *at any rate*, with France, influencing our councils and parliament, and adopted for the baſis of a treaty for a general pacification; at the expence of our moſt important commercial conqueſts?

Great and glorious as we have repreſented the public actions under the immediate direction of the miniſtry, this year, the national intereſt was alſo greatly promoted, and the miniſterial meaſures received an additional luſtre and value, from a variety of incidents, both in the number of prizes, and in the extraordinary courage of individuals.

Colonel Clive defeats the French Nabob.

The French, in order to embroil the Eaſt India affairs, at the time they marched to beſiege Madraſs, had formed a plot to dethrone the Nabob of Bengal, ſet up [p] by Colonel Clive, after the battle of Plaſſey. Which, if not ſucceſsful in every particular, would moſt certainly employ the Engliſh forces upon the coaſt of the Ganges, ſo as to prevent their giving ſuccour to the beſieged on the coaſt of Coromandel. For this purpoſe they ſet up a new Nabob, and aſſiſted him with

[p] See page 387. Vol. III.

men

men and money to aſſert his right to the throne, and to lay ſiege to Patua. But this ſiege was altogether as unſucceſsful as that of Madraſs. Colonel Clive, who was become the terror of our enemies in thoſe regions, marched with his little army to his Nabob's relief. And, as it is ſaid of Cæſar, we may properly on this occaſion, as well as ſome others of his exploits, ſay *Veni, vidi, vici.* His very approach threw the enemy into confuſion. The pretender ran away with great precipitation. And the colonel found himſelf in a condition to detach Major Brereton, with ſome troops, to harraſs the rear of M. Lally's army, after his return from Madraſs. A. D. 1759.

But our chief attention is engaged by the tranſactions at ſea; where we ſhall find that our cruiſers, privateers and armed merchantmen took 165 ſhips from the enemy, including ſuch neutral ſhips, Dutch, Danes and Swedes, which traded for the French in defiance of treaties and the faith of neutrality; and forty-one conſiderable privateers and armed merchantmen; which carried 460 guns, and upwards of 2580 ſeamen. So that, notwithſtanding the French privateers picked up 210 Britiſh veſſels, their value and ſtrength fell far ſhort of the French prizes. Moſt of our loſſes happening amongſt coaſters and ſmall traders, that would not be confined to the orders of a convoy. Captures.

The damage done to the French by the captures made upon them, may be eſtimated in ſome meaſure from the following particulars.

A. D. 1759. Remarkable prizes and actions.

The Favorite man of war, of 20 guns, Captain Edwards commander, took and carried into Gibraltar a large French ſhip, of 24 guns, from St. Domingo, worth 40,000 l. [q] Two merchant ſhips, upwards of 300 tons burden, each freighted and laden with proviſions, clothing and 500 ſtands of arms for the ſoldiery in Martinico, were taken by Captain Lendrick, of the Brilliant. Another, worth 120,000 dollars, from Smyrna, was taken by the Hawke private ſhip of war, Captain Wilſon.

Captain Samuel Hood, of his Majeſty's ſhip the Veſtal, of 32 guns and 220 men, being ſtationed about five miles a-head of Admiral Holmes to look out for the enemy, diſcovered, about ſeven o'clock in the morning of the 21ſt of February, the Bellona frigate, bearing S. S. E. directly to the windward, which he chaced and engaged at ten minutes paſt two. She carried 32 guns, and was very full of men, commanded by the Count de Beauhonoire. The action began at within half muſket-ſhot, and continued cloſe till near ſix, when ſhe ſtruck, having only her foremaſt ſtanding, without yard or top-maſt, and that went away ſoon after, being much wounded. When the Veſtal's lieutenant boarded her, he found upwards of thirty dead men upon the decks: the priſoners acknowledged they had thrown ten or twelve overboard: and the reſidue that ſurvived were 180. So that there muſt have been upwards of 220 on board the enemy at the beginning

[q] The engagement laſted four hours and a half.

of

of the action. The Veſtal had only five men killed and 22 wounded; but ſhe was otherwiſe greatly damaged. For as ſoon as the captain brought to, after the enemy ſtruck, all the Veſtal's top-maſts fell over the ſide, being much ſhot, and their rigging not in a condition to ſupport them; and it was owing to the favour of very fine weather, that her lower-maſts did not go likewiſe overboard. Which obliged the captain, with the help of a jury-yard to his main-maſt, to make the beſt of his way to Spithead. A. D. 1759.

His Majeſty's ſhips Southampton and Melampe, commanded by the Captains Gilchriſt and Hotham, on the 28th of March, came up with the French frigate of war the Danae, of 40 guns and 330 men, which, after a briſk engagement, was taken, having between 30 and 40 men killed, and a great number wounded. The Southampton had one man killed and eight wounded; among the latter was Captain Gilchriſt, who being ſhot through the right ſhoulder with a pound ball, was put aſhore at Yarmouth. The Melampe had eight men killed and twenty wounded.

His Majeſty's ſhip Æolus, Captain Elliot, on the 15th of March, came up with and took the La Mignone, a French frigate of 20 guns and 143 men, commanded by the Chevalier de Tranſanville. Her captain and 70 men were killed, the ſecond captain's thigh ſhot off, and about 25 wounded. On board the Æolus were two men wounded.

His

A. D. 1759. His Majeſty's ſhip Achilles, the Honourable Captain Barrington commander, on the 4th of April, in lat. 44. 51. ſixty leagues to the weſtward of Cape Fineſtre, fell in with and took the Count de St. Florentin, of 60 guns and 403 men, from Cape Francois for Rochefort, commanded by the Sieur de Montay, after a cloſe engagement of two hours, in which the Achilles had but two men killed, and 23 wounded, and was hurt only in her maſts, ſails and rigging. The loſs on the enemy's ſide was very conſiderable, having all his maſts ſhot away, with 116 men killed and wounded, among the latter the captain, with a muſket-ball through his body, of which he died two days after.

Captain Faulkner, of his Majeſty's ſhip Windſor, of 60 guns, diſcovering off the rock of Liſbon, on the 27th of March, four large ſhips to leeward, gave them chace. They drew up into a line of battle a-head, at the diſtance of about a cable's length aſunder, and remained in that ſituation till the Windſor had engaged the ſternmoſt ſhip near an hour. The other three, upon a ſignal from the ſhip engaged, made all the ſail they could to get off; and then ſhe ſtruck her colours, and proved to be the Duke de Chartreſs, pierced for 60, but had only 24 guns, French twelve pounders mounted, with 294 men; of whom 28 were killed and 18 wounded. The Windſor loſt but one man killed and ſix wounded. The prize was laden with 60 tons of gunpowder, 150 tons of cordage, a large quantity of ſail-cloth, beſides other ſtores, and with proviſions.

The

The other three ſhips that run off, were, Le Maſſac, pierced for 70 guns, had 26 twelve pounders mounted, and 300 men; the Eaſt-India Company, pierced for 54 guns, had 24 twelve pounders mounted, and 274 men; and the St. Luke, pierced for 24 guns, had 18 twelve pounders mounted, and 200 men: they all belonged to the French Eaſt-India company, ſailed from Port l'Orient the 22d of March, and were bound to Pondicherry. A. D. 1759.

On the 2d of May the Hardy, of 80 guns and 150 men, and the Hermione of 26 guns and 170 men; French frigates, but laden with the fineſt ſugars and indigo, were taken by part of Admiral Coats's ſquadron [r].

Theſe, with the loſſes ſuſtained, this year, in the ſeveral actions with our fleets, totally ruined the French navy: for, we had taken 27 ſhips of the line and 31 frigates: which, with two ſhips of the line and four frigates loſt, made the whole number 58 taken or deſtroyed, beſides ſix that were loſt. Whereas we, in all, had now loſt no more than ſeven men of war and five frigates. Total of men of war taken from the French.

[r] See page 396, 401, 404, &c. 422, and page 436, 437, 438, Vol. III.

The End of the Fourth Book.

THE

THE GENERAL HISTORY OF THE LATE WAR.

BOOK V.

Containing the ſtate of the war in Germany, between the King of Pruſſia, and his enemies the Imperialiſts, Auſtrians, Ruſſians, Swedes, &c. The battles of Landſhut, Merſelwitz and Torgau. The action at Strehla. The ſiege of Dreſden and Colberg: and the plunder of Berlin by the Ruſſians.—The campaign between the Britiſh allies and the French. The battles of Warbourg and Campen: the actions at Corbach and Erxdorf: and the ſurrender of Marpourg to the French.—The coaſts of Scotland and Ireland alarmed by Thurot's ſquadron. His defeat. Great preparations for an expedition, and the cauſe of its not being carried into execution.—In North America, The attempts of the French to recover Quebec.—The capitulation of Montreal,

Montreal, which compleated the conqueſt of Canada.
—The ſucceſs of our arms in the Eaſt Indies.

SEVERAL circumſtances concurred about this time in favour of France, which, under all its diſtreſs and loſſes, afforded ſome glimmerings of relief: and without which fortuitous events, it is ſcarce to be doubted, but that the French miniſtry would have liſtened more cordially to the pacific voice of the Britiſh and Pruſſian monarchs. The death of the King of Spain gave them great hopes of engaging the ſucceſſor in vigorous meaſures for their ſupport. It is certain, that the French monarch had placed great dependence upon the friendſhip of his brother the King of Spain, from the very commencement of this war: and though the Spaniſh nation had agreed to a ſtrict neutrality, their partial [a] conduct in favour of the French on every occaſion, betrayed their averſion and concealed enmity towards Great Britain. Their monarch's officious proffer to mediate between Britain and France was rejected, as inſidious: and the violence offered by the governor of Algeziers upon our men of war boats in the bay of Gibraltar, and of the governor of Cadiz upon the Antigallican [b], was an open defiance and provocation to war. Could the frenchified counſellors of Spain have found means to draw a declaration of war againſt their King and country from

A. D. 1760.

Incidents in favour of France.

Acceſſion of Don Carlos to the crown of Spain.

[a] See page 5, &c. Vol. I. page 14, &c. Vol. II.
[b] See page 16, &c. Vol. II.

his

A. D. 1760. his Britannic Majeſty, they were confident their maſter would reſent it, and join heartily with France againſt Great Britain. But the King of Spain was naturally of ſo timorous and melancholy a complexion, that he was not to be perſuaded to take any part in the war between Great Britain and France, than what he might do in a clandeſtine and perfidious manner. This melancholy diſpoſition gained upon his Majeſty ſo much, that, on the death of his Queen [c], he renounced all company, neglected all buſineſs, and gave way to the moſt extravagant grief. He was then ſo far from hearkening to any propoſals for breaking with England, that he was even deaf to the moſt earneſt and reſpectful remonſtrances, for the preſervation of his health and relief of his mind.

In this condition the Spaniſh monarch lived a diſconſolate and inactive life, till the 10th of Auguſt 1759, on which day he expired; and by a will, adviſed by his frenchified counſellors, he left the crown of Spain, to his brother, Don Carlos, King of Naples. And Don Carlos, in defiance of the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, which guaranteed the kingdom of Naples to Don Philip his brother, upon this event, in conſideration that the duchies of Parma, Placentia and Guaſtalla, ſhould revert to the houſe of Auſtria; if Don Carlos ſhould ſucceed his brother on the throne of Spain; retained both kingdoms; and ſettled the ſucceſſion of the kingdom of the two Sicilies upon his third

[c] In the year 1758.

ſon

ſon Don Ferdinand. An act ſo prejudicial to the intereſt of the Empreſs Queen, that could never have been attempted without his having made ſure of the protection of France, and purchaſed her intereſt with ſolemn engagements to join her arms againſt Great Britain, when all other methods ſhould prove abortive: of which nothing can be a ſtronger proof than the *Family Compact*, which made its appearance in the year following. Wherein all the branches of the houſe of Bourbon made the quarrel of each the common cauſe of them all. A. D. 1760.

His conduct.

The political Neapolitan Legiſlator kept all quiet at home, till the government of both Naples and Spain was ſettled. In Spain he began his reign with ſuch acts as he intended ſhould deceive Great Britain into a high eſteem of his moderation and pacific intentions. But notwithſtanding every art to cover his real deſign, our miniſter penetrated into his moſt ſecret intrigues.

Penetrated by Mr. PITT.

King of Spain's deſign upon Portugal.

Men of wiſdom and penetration could perceive that Don Carlos would avail himſelf of the troubles in Europe, which ſeemed to deprive Portugal of all aid from her allies, to aſſert his right, as lineal heir, to that kingdom, by his mother's ſide; and that he would heartily enter into the meaſures of France againſt England, to purchaſe French aſſiſtance in that favourite and ſanguine ſcheme; as well as to diſable England from protecting Portugal againſt his intended invaſion and uſurpation. The deplorable caſe of France at this juncture of time diſpoſed her court to buy the alliance of Spain at any rate. And the intimacy between the French

A. D. 1760. ambaſſador at Naples, and the Italian favourite, or Marquis de Squillaci, both of whom the King brought in his retinue to Madrid, promiſed him ſucceſs. The French ambaſſador was particularly countenanced by the Marquis de Squillaci: the marquis entertained a high opinion of the Frenchman's abilities and penetration; and he improved the marquis's ſentiments of him with the artifice, for which the French court is remarkably diſtinguiſhed. The marquis could not conceal from him the propenſity of his maſter to aſſert his title to Portugal. The ambaſſador, without diſcouraging the attempt, inſinuated the neceſſity for Spain, to join the arms of France againſt England; from whence alone, it was poſſible, Portugal could find protection; and repreſented Great Britain in ſuch an ambitious attitude, as to fill him with fears for the Spaniſh Weſt Indies, and the riches of her flotas, in caſe there could not be found means to rival Britain's naval power, and prevent the progreſs of her arms in America. Theſe repreſentations, backed by a powerful ſum, wrought effectually upon the marquis, who became totally frenchified; on condition, that France ſhould enter alſo into the views of Spain.

The favourite being ſecured by the ambaſſador, and Don Carlos by the hopes of conquering Portugal, and of adding that ancient kingdom to the crown of Spain; a pretence was to be ſought for, to palliate the breach of the faith of treaties, which, on ſuch a rupture, muſt give way to intrigue and policy. This was managed by a ſecret treaty,

devised and set on foot under the name of a *Family Compact*. By which the interests and independence of all nations were made to give way to the interest and ambition of the House of Bourbon. And in consequence, it was found, That in consideration of France furnishing Spain with troops, to assist her in conquering Portugal; Spain agreed to join France against England. A. D. 1760. Family Compact.

In order to conceal his real intentions, till matters were ripe to enable their compact-force to act by surprize, upon England and Portugal, his Catholic Majesty conducted the ceremonial with his Most Faithful Majesty in a most friendly manner: and he disguised his preparations against England, under the amiable temper of moderation, and a desire to become instrumental, in bringing about an accommodation between England and France. Perfidious behaviour.

But though every thing (except that jealousy, which the Spanish court could not smoother in their conferences with the Earl of Bristol, about the British conquests) carried the face of amity and friendship at Madrid, emissaries were employed, till the Family Compact was compleated and signed, to defeat the real good intentions of the pacific invitation made to the belligerant powers by their Britannic and Prussian Majesties; to efface the good impression it might have made upon the neutral powers and states, and to try how far it was practicable to spirit up a party in England, to oppose, or to obstruct the vigorous measures of a minister, whose vigilance, activity and firmness, Emissaries employed against England.

A. D. 1760.

were moſt to be feared. The moſt noticed of theſe was an Iriſh jeſuit, ſecretary to the Spaniſh embaſſy at the Hague; employed to publiſh the terms, on which France was diſpoſed to ſign a peace, greatly to the diſadvantage and diſhonour of the conquerors.

A Jeſuit recommends peace.

This piece, penned with all the ſubtilty of his order, and coloured with the moſt fallacious reaſonings, made its appearance, not in the common dreſs of a private eſſay; but with ſuch marks of authority, and in ſo many different tongues, for the peruſal of all the moſt potent ſtates in Europe; amongſt whom it was diſperſed at a great expence; under the melodious title of *The Voice of Peace*, that it was eaſily diſcovered to be the prelude to his Catholic Majeſty's future conduct in favour of France. This author's drift was to induce a belief[d], That Great Britain had entered into the war with France, for an object of no great importance: That a little extenſion of the limits of their territories in North America, was the only cauſe of the quarrel. That notwithſtanding all the light thrown by the commiſſaries[e] on this affair, it ſeemed very difficult, and almoſt impoſſible to decide, who was right, or who was wrong[f]. That England was the aggreſſor in this war[f]: and that our commencing hoſtilities in the European ſeas, and entering into a league with Pruſſia, were the cauſe of the German war.

From the origin of the war.

[d] See The Voice of Peace, page 11.

[e] See Vol. I. page

[f] See Voice of Peace, page 13.

A. D. 1760.

From the ſtate of the belligerant powers.

He then argued for the neceſſity of a peace from the preſent ſtate of the belligerant powers, eſpecially of their finances and reſources, to maintain or to amend their affairs [g]. Under this head, he extolled the kingdom of France for its populouſneſs, extent and fertility: for its maritime advantages on the ocean and Mediterranean: for its many excellent and well fortified ports, and innumerable frontier fortreſſes; and the people, for their courage, induſtry, and commerce. He affirmed that the King of France can raiſe 250,000 effective regular troops, and many more, if found neceſſary. And then obſerved, That France had not been attacked, and that the theatre of war was at a great diſtance; for the enterprizes againſt her coaſts had ended in nothing. He did not endeavour to hide the ſucceſs of the arms of Great Britain; nor to throw any ſhade upon the ſtrength and proweſs of the Engliſh: but he remarked, That Great Britain is vaſtly inferior to France, both in regard to extent and to the number of its inhabitants; that ſhe is obliged to accumulate taxes in proportion to the immenſe ſums ſhe borrows for carrying on the war: That ſhe cannot raiſe the men ſhe would, and that it would be impoſſible for her to ſend an army into Germany, next campaign, equal to that of France. He magnified the reſources of the Empreſs Queen for men; and affirmed that her grand army was in good condition, and that her forces, joined to thoſe of her allies,

[g] See Voice of Peace, page 36, &c.

A. D. 1760.

were double to thoſe of her enemies. He added the advantages gained by the Ruſſians; the conqueſt of Cleves, Mark, and part of Guelders, by the French: and repreſented the Swedes and Imperialiſts to be in a condition to execute their parts of the grand confederacy againſt the King of Pruſſia. On the contrary, he preſumed that the Pruſſian troops were not now, what they had been: that his Pruſſian Majeſty could not recruit his troops with that facility, as the Auſtrians, &c. and that he would be obliged to employ freſh recruits without much regard to their abilities; and concluded with obſerving, That, when he had done his beſt, it would not be poſſible for him to ſend one half of what his enemies were able to ſend againſt him. It is but juſtice to grant that this harbinger of peace did not conceal the advantages, which Great Britain and Pruſſia enjoyed at this criſis: nor did he attempt to cover the reverſe condition of their enemies. But in this compariſon, it is apparent that he threw more fear into the balance of Great Britain and Pruſſia, and more hope into that of France and Auſtria, and their allies. For, though he was forced, in order to ſave appearances, to confeſs, That the balance leaned a *little* on the ſide of England and Pruſſia; he put us in mind, That ſkill in the military art is not always ſure to command ſucceſs; and that experience has often proved, that an unexpected event, a chance, *a nothing*, has rendered the beſt concerted ſchemes abortive [h].

[h] See Voice of Peace, page 42.

Having

A. D. 1760. Motives.

Having thus modelled the balance of power, the balance-maſter introduced his opinion concerning the *motives* for making a peace, with this obſervation: — "When after above three years "ſtruggle againſt each other, attended with diffe- "rent ſucceſs, nothing has been obtained but the "maintenance of the equilibrium between them; "and that they all, England excepted, are now "but where they began; I cannot perceive that "they can reaſonably expect to bring the next "campaign to a more happy iſſue." — Then, after enumerating the loſſes of France by ſea and land; the improbability of recruiting her marine; and the ruin of her trade, he has the modeſty to confeſs, "That it is the real intereſt of France "to lend an immediate hand to the forwarding of "peace; though her operations in Weſtphalia "may promiſe to obtain honourable terms; as it "is apprehended that a delay may oblige her to "accept worſe conditions, than thoſe ſhe may at "preſent obtain." He alſo declares, "That a "ſpeedy peace is more conformable to the intereſts "of the Houſe of Auſtria, than a continuation "of the war." He expatiates very juſtly on the misfortunes and miſeries of the Auſtrian allies, ariſing from a continuation of the war. But all this ſeeming impartiality is intended to enable him more effectually to enforce his argument againſt England, "I think, ſays he [i], England, notwith- "ſtanding the ſurprizing ſucceſs of her arms,

[i] See Voice of Peace, page 52.

A. D. 1760. "ought to be ſincerely deſirous of the return of "peace; her debts are already immenſe; and of "all the ſums continually going out of the king- "dom there returns but a part; one branch of "her commerce, however flouriſhing the reſt may "be, is entirely at a ſtand, and the French pri- "vateers are daily making conſiderable captures; "and, after all, it will be difficult for her to make "a further progreſs in America."

And in regard to the King of Pruſſia: he put him in mind of his loſſes, and dangers: and that he is ſubject to the caprices of fortune. Where he was deficient in point of argument in a political theory, he then endeavoured to operate upon the paſſions with motives of humanity. "If, ſays "he[k], all the Princes, who are engaged in war, "were obliged to be preſent at the operations of "it, the horrors they muſt there behold would "make them leſs fond of entering into one, and "more deſirous of putting an end to it: towns "reduced to aſhes, villages deſtroyed, bloody "fields overſpread with heaps of dead, and dying "men; this is the horrid picture war offers to "our view, which is a frightful one indeed to a "man whoſe heart is not inacceſſible to compaſſi- "on, and ſteeled againſt the feelings of huma- "nity!

"We are ſtruck with amazement when we "ſometimes ſee ſovereigns running after a ſhadow, "inſtead of applying themſelves to the means of

[k] See Voice of Peace, page 53.

"rendring

" rendring their kingdoms more flouriſhing, and " their people happier, launching in purſuit of " the uncertain future, and neglecting the pre- " ſent; hoping, by the blood or ruin of an infi- " nite number of their ſubjects to acquire a few " thouſand others? Is not this adding folly to " cruelty?" A. D. 1760.

The mind being thus prepared, and made ſuſceptible of pacific ideas, and diſpoſed, by motives of policy and humanity, to attend to the means of obtaining a pacification, the Spaniſh advocate for the preſervation of France from total ruin, infers from the premiſes, That notwithſtanding the advantages gained by England, and the ruinous ſtate of France, &c. " it is not likely " that the invitation given by the courts of Lon- " don and Berlin, ſhould produce the deſired ef- " fect, unleſs backed by ſomething more [l];" viz. a ſuſpenſion of arms, or by ſettling the principal points of the accommodation *without* a congreſs; which, ſays he, in other words, may be called the preliminaries [m]. Here the Jeſuit lays down the moſt advantageous manner of treaty for the French: and tells us plainly, That unleſs the belligerent powers do embrace theſe (or one of theſe) two expedients, the proſpect of peace is ſtill at a vaſt diſtance [n]. Giving us to underſtand, that if the conquerors will not agree to a ſuſpenſion of arms, by which their enemies ſhall be put in a con- Propoſes the means of reconciliation.

[l] See Voice of Peace, page 56.
[m] See idem, p. 60.
[n] Idem, p. 61.

dition

A. D. 1760. dition to breathe, recruit, and provide for a better defence, in caſe of a non-agreement: or, if they will not ſubmit to treat with a vanquiſhed foe in a corner, where the people of England ſhall not be able to come at the contents, and where negociation and intrigue might diveſt them of the intereſt, glory, ſecurity and conqueſts, which had been gained by our fleets and armies; the French, &c. were determined to continue the war with the aſſiſtance of Spain.

But the moſt curious part of this performance is, the liberality, with which he diſpoſes of the conqueſts made by Great Britain. "I am of "opinion, ſays the ſecretary to the Spaniſh em- "baſſy, That, every thing well conſidered, in re- "gard to England and France, the latter power "ſhould give up the Iſland of Minorca, and make "a conſiderable ceſſion in America, upon condi- "tion of having the Iſland of Goree reſtored by "the Engliſh; beſides what they may have taken "from their enemies in the Eaſt Indies." This is the very ſpirit of the negociations, which were ſome time after entered upon between England and France: and from which they never receded, when they met with the opportunity to transfer the ſcene of negociation from London to Paris, and to ſign a treaty of pacification in the manner and form, they themſelves had dictated ſo long before.

Remarks. But whatever could be effected by the united force of France and Spain, and by their intrigues, gave us no concern: their united efforts could only

only ſerve to contribute more to the honour, glory and wealth of Great Britain, and to bring entire deſtruction upon themſelves. France was quite diſabled, and the work of her redemption was too great and hazardous an undertaking for the Spaniards, who had neither fleet, nor army, capable of protecting their trade, their colonies, nor their ownſelves, from a powerful invader. Our injury was to be procured within ourſelves. Our unanimity was to be broken; and if no other way could be found to deprive the miniſtry of the confidence of the people, the men in power were to be ſoured and diſguſted with the meaſures, which his Majeſty approved of. A. D. 1760.

This attempt was favoured by that remnant of the Tory party, which could never join heartily in the coalition brought about by Mr. PITT. They inherited the averſion of thoſe, who indiſcriminately oppoſed all continental connections, and had oppoſed every meaſure, ſince the revolution, for pulling down the power of France, and in favour of the Houſe of Hanover. They erected their creſts once more; cried out loudly againſt the German war; treated the ſubſidy paid to Pruſſia, and the conditions of our alliance with his Pruſſian Majeſty, with great indignity and contempt; though his friendſhip had been always repreſented, on former occaſions, as moſt advantageous, and preferable to any other ally upon the continent, by the Tory oppoſition to former adminiſtrations; and they now proceeded ſo far, as to declare all attempts to weaken and diſtreſs France, by

Oppoſition to the meaſures begun by the Tories.

A. D. 1760.

by extending our conqueſts beyond the limits of thoſe acquiſitions, which had been the primary object of the war, to be unneceſſary and unjuſt: and further, That ſuch acquiſitious could only ſerve to ruin the nation; and that the miniſter, who had done ſo great things for us, ought to be removed.

Mr. PITT's firmneſs, wiſdom and vigour.

In this ſituation Mr. PITT relaxed nothing of his zeal, vigour and activity. A conſciouſneſs of having done what was right, placed him above the intrigues of party: and the approbation of his Sovereign and his country enabled him to proceed. Though the branch of peace was offered, for the enemy to lay hold on, and to ſave themſelves from further damages, his proviſion for another campaign, where-ever the intereſt of the nation required a force by ſea or land, for defence or for annoyance, did not ſlacken. At the ſame time peace was offered to the enemy the convention with Pruſſia was renewed°: and the parliament unani-

Convention with Pruſſia ſigned.

° *A convention between his Majeſty and the King of Pruſſia concluded and ſigned at London, the 9th of November,* 1759.

Be it known to all whom it concerns, or may concern, that the burdenſome war, wherein his Pruſſian Majeſty is engaged, putting him under the neceſſity of making new efforts for his defence againſt the great number of enemies, by which his dominions are attacked, and being therefore obliged to enter into a new contract with his Britannic Majeſty, in order to provide reciprocally and jointly with him for their common defence and ſafety; and his Majeſty, the King of Great Britain, having made known, at the ſame time, the deſire he had to ſtrengthen the bonds of friendſhip, which ſubſiſt between the two courts, and to come to a new agreement on this occaſion, and

unanimouſly raiſed the neceſſary ſupplies with chearfulneſs and a confidence in the miniſter. A. D. 1760.

They

and for this end, by an expreſs convention relating to the ſuccours, by which he may give to his Pruſſian Majeſty moſt expeditious, and moſt efficacious aſſiſtance, their ſaid majeſties have therefore, for this purpoſe, named and authoriſed their reſpective miniſters, to wit, in the name, and on the part of his Britannic Majeſty, his privy counſellors Sir Robert Henley, Knt. his keeper of the great ſeal of Great Britain; John, Earl Granville, preſident of his council; Thomas Holles, Duke of Newcaſtle, firſt lord commiſſioner of his treaſury; Robert, Earl of Holderneſſe, one of his principal ſecretaries of ſtate; Philip, Earl of Hardwicke; and William Pitt, another of his principal ſecretaries of ſtate: and in the name, and on the part of his Pruſſian Majeſty, the Sieurs Dodo Henry, Baron of Knyphauſen, his privy counſellor of embaſſy, and miniſter plenipotentiary at the court of his Britannic Majeſty, and Lewis Michell, his charge d'affairs, at the ſaid court, who, after the exchange of their reſpective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles.

1. It is agreed, that all the preceding treaties, which ſubſiſt between the two courts, of whatever date or nature they may be, and particularly that of Weſtminſter of the 16th of January, in the year 1756, as well as the convention of the 11th of April of the laſt year, and that of the 7th of December of the ſame year, ſhall be deemed to be renewed and confirmed by the preſent convention in all their points, articles and clauſes, and ſhall be of the ſame force, as if they were inſerted herein word for word.

2. His Majeſty, the King of Great Britain, engages to cauſe to be paid in the city of London, into the hands of the perſon or perſons, who ſhall be authorized for that purpoſe, by his Majeſty the King of Pruſſia, the ſum of four millions of German crowns, amounting to 670,000 l. ſterling, which entire ſum ſhall be paid at once, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications upon the requiſition of his Pruſſian Majeſty.

3. His

A. D. 1760.

Supplies for the year 1760.

They voted 73,000 ſeamen, 18,355 mariners, 57,000 ſoldiers, and 15,503,564l. 15s. 9½d. for their ſupport, and all other neceſſaries for a vigorous proſecution of the war.

While preparations were making, and our navy ſo ſtationed in ſquadrons, as to block up the whole coaſt of France, the return of Thurot's ſmall

3. His Majeſty, the King of Pruſſia, engages, on his part, to employ the ſaid ſum in keeping up and augmenting his forces, which ſhall act in the moſt advantageous manner for the common cauſe, and for the end propoſed by their aforeſaid Majeſties, of reciprocal defence and mutual ſecurity.

4. The high contracting parties moreover engage, viz. on the one part his Britannic Majeſty, both as King and as Elector, and on the other part his Pruſſian Majeſty, not to conclude any treaty of peace, truce, or neutrality, or any other convention, or agreement whatſoever, with the powers, who have taken part in the preſent war, but in concert, and by mutual conſent, and expreſly comprehending each other therein.

5. This convention ſhall be ratified, and the ratifications thereof ſhall be exchanged on both ſides, within the term of ſix weeks, to be reckoned from the date of ſigning the preſent convention, or ſooner, if poſſible.

In witneſs whereof we the under-written miniſters of his Majeſty, the King of Great Britain, and of his Majeſty the King of Pruſſia, by virtue of our full powers, have ſigned the preſent convention, and have ſet the ſeals of our arms thereto.

Done at London, the 9th of November, in the year of our Lord 1759.

(L. S.) ROBERT HENLEY, C. S.
(L. S.) GRANVILLE, P.
(L. S.) HOLLES NEWCASTLE.
(L. S.) HOLDERNESSE.
(L. S.) W. PITT.

ſqua-

ſquadron [p], (rendered more contemptible and weak, by the hardſhips they had met with in their winter voyage, and their want of money and credit to provide neceſſaries at Gottenburg [q], and afterwards at Bergen in Norway, to which port Thurot had removed; and by the loſs of the Begon, which had been ſeparated from this ſquadron by a violent ſtorm, between Gottenburg and Bergen,) occaſioned ſome alarm on the northern coaſt of Ireland, the eaſtern coaſt of Scotland, and on the coaſt of Lancaſhire. A. D. 1760.

From Bergen [r] we trace M. Thurot's ſquadron to the Orkney iſlands; where they beat about ſix weeks, collecting proviſions, of which they were in great want, from each iſland, as much as they could; and thence (on the 24th of January, 1760) to the northern coaſt of the kingdom of Ireland. By his diſpoſitions at this time, it appeared that his intention was to make a deſcent on that iſland, near Derry. But the wind and the ſeas protected that trading, loyal and opulent city from the violence and deſtruction, which ſuch a viſit would have brought with it. Thurot not being willing

[p] Conſiſting only of five ſhips, which ſailed from Dunkirk on the 15th of October 1759, one of the ſquadron being left behind. Theſe five ſhips were, the Marſhal Belliſle of 54 guns, carried only 48 guns, 200 ſailors, and 400 ſoldiers.—Le Beyon, of 36 guns, 200 ſailors and 400 ſoldiers.—Le Blond, of 36 guns, 200 ſailors and 200 ſoldiers.—Le Terpſichore, of 24 guns, 60 ſailors and 170 ſoldiers.—Le Marante, of 24 guns, 40 ſailors and 100 ſoldiers.

[q] Where Thurot ſtaid fifteen days.

[r] Where Thurot ſtaid nineteen days.

to

A. D. 1760.

to land in the evening of the day he reached this ſhore; next morning, as the ſquadron doubled the point of the harbour of Derry, and every thing was prepared for landing immediately, the wind ſhifted, blew a hard gale off ſhore, and drove the enemy to ſea; and the ſea grew ſo tempeſtuous, that Thurot loſt ſight of the Marante, another of his ſhips, and was tempeſt beaten, with the remains of his ſhattered ſquadron, ſo long in that inclement ſeaſon and in a raging ſea, that they all had like to have been loſt[r]: beſides, they beat about ſo long a time, that the men were reduced to ſhort allowance. So that, as ſoon as the ſeas and weather did permit, each ſhip made towards M. Thurot, and the commanders deſired him to return to France, leſt they ſhould periſh with famine. M. Thurot, whoſe future intereſt, at his court, depended upon the ſervice he could do his King in this expedition, rejected their propoſal with indignation: declared that he would not return without having done ſomething: but agreed to land them for refreſhment at the Iſle of Iſla, the neareſt land in their reckoning[s]. They arrived there the ſame

[r] The Blond threw four guns overboard, and got back to St. Maloes.

[s] On Saturday, the 16th of February, the ſhips were diſcovered by the people on ſhore, who imagined them to be Engliſh veſſels that wanted pilots, as the coaſt was foul and dangerous. Two gentlemen, therefore, Mr. M'Neal, and Mr. M'Donald, went out in a ſmall boat, and were received on board the Belleiſle, before they diſcovered their miſtake; they were immediately conducted to Thurot's cabbin, whom they

ſame day, and all the troops were put a-ſhore, and they found in the harbour a brig, laden with A. D. 1760.

as they found to be a man of a very good appearance, not more than eight and twenty years old: he was ſitting at a table with about twelve officers, and when the gentlemen were introduced, he roſe, gave them the chief place, and ordered wine and glaſſes to be ſet before them. M. Thurot addreſſed them in Engliſh, and the firſt compliments being over, he enquired about a ſafe harbour: after a ſhort converſation, Mr. M'Neal was deſired to go on ſhore, and tell the country people that they had nothing to fear, all he wanted being ſome freſh proviſions, for which he would pay ready money.

Mr. M'Donald continued on board, but was treated with the greateſt civility.

At night the ſhips anchored in Claggencarrock bay, when two of Thurot's longboats plundered two ſloops that lay there at anchor, one of them belonging to Mr. M'Donald, from which they took five tons of flour; this violence was committed without the commodore's knowledge, and in the morning, when he heard of it, he paid Mr. M'Donald fifty guineas for his flour, and inſiſted upon his keeping the whole ſum, though he told him it was more than the flour was worth. Soon after this, it having been agreed that Mr. Campbell of Ardmore, ſhould furniſh the fleet with ſome cattle, poultry, and other proviſions, two hundred of the ſoldiers were ſent on ſhore to bring them off. The reſt of the troops were alſo permitted to land, and the poor wretches, the moment they got out of the boat, began to dig up every green thing they ſaw upon the ground, even the graſs, which they devoured with the utmoſt eagerneſs. Mr. Campbell having delivered forty-eight ſteers, the general of the land forces offered him twenty ſhillings a-piece for them, and tendered him a bill upon the French reſident at the Hague for the money; but Campbell, being unwilling to accept ſuch payment, complained to Thurot, who told him the bill was not worth a farthing, and having upbraided the general for his unworthy conduct, obliged him to give fifty ſhillings a-head

A. D. 1760.

as much oatmeal, as, at ſix ounces a-day, would ſerve them twelve days. They alſo picked up a few cattle: with which ſupply they thought it moſt adviſeable to depart from an iſland not capable to ſupport ſo many additional mouths, to ſeek a more fruitful country, before they ſhould make too great a hole in their ſcanty ſtores. So that, after three days ſtay at this iſland, M. Thurot's ſquadron ſailed for Carrickfergus, the neareſt port in Ireland, and arrived before it next day. They caſt anchor [t] in the bay, and amongſt other devices to animate the drooping and deſponding ſpirits of his men, Thurot ordered all the wine on board the ſhips to be diſtributed to their re-

Thurot's ſquadron arrives off Carrick-fergus.

for the ſteers, to pay down fifty guineas in part, and draw a bill for the remainder on the French King's banker at Paris, which he aſſured Mr. Campbell was good: every thing elſe was paid for in ready money.

On Monday the 18th, the Belleiſle being very leaky, all her guns were brought to one ſide, to make her heel, and carpenters were at work all day in repairing her. Thurot knew nothing of the defeat of Conflans, till this day at dinner, when it happened to be mentioned by Mr. M'Donald: the whole company was ſo ſtruck with the news, that they laid down their knives and forks, and looked at each other with expreſſions of the utmoſt conſternation and diſappointment.

The next day, Tueſday the 19th, the ſquadron weighed anchor, and Thurot, when he took leave of Mr. M'Donald, made him a preſent of a double-barrelled fuzee, ſuppoſed to be worth about fifteen guineas.

[t] On the 21ſt of February, at twelve o'clock, about two miles and a half to the north-eaſt part of the caſtle, and within muſket-ſhot of the ſhore of Kilrate point.

ſpective

ſpective crews and ſoldiers [u]; who landed at three o'clock the ſame afternoon. A. D. 1760.

During this toſſing about of Thurot's ſquadron, it not being certain what was become of him, nor where he might tend his courſe, and ſtrike a miſchievous blow, to the detriment of individuals and private property; his force not being in a condition to act alone, with the leaſt hopes of ſucceſs, againſt the national ſtrength; the opulent towns upon the ſea-coaſt, in all the three kingdoms, prepared for defence againſt an inſult. Liverpool fortified their ſhore, as well as the nature of the place would admit; and 1200 militia marched into the town, as ſoon as it was known the enemy had landed in Ireland. The gentlemen in the neighbourhood of Whitehaven raiſed and armed 600 men, to protect that port, in which were 200 ſail of ſhips at that juncture of time. And every thing was done by the government that was in their power, to protect them, to guard the coaſts, and to ſeek them out. Yet no certain intelligence could be got of their courſe, till Ireland took the alarm from their landing at Carrickfergus [w]. Preparations to prevent his landing in England.

When

[u] Reduced by ſickneſs and death to 600 men. Loſt in the Begon 400 men; in the Marante 100 men; died and ſick in the voyage 170 men.

[w] There was a diſagreement betwixt the general and Captain Thurot, the general being for the attack of Carrick, and Thurot for landing at the White-houſe, and attacking Belfaſt.

Immediately, upon the receipt of this intelligence, his Grace the Lord Lieutenant gave orders for the aſſembling, with the

A. D. 1760.

When M. Thurot's ſquadron, reduced to three ſhips off the Iſle of Mayoe, and ſtanding in ſhore for the Bay of Carrickfergus, was diſcovered, from the caſtle, the ſmall garriſon were at their exerciſe, about half a mile on the road to Belfaſt, without the leaſt apprehenſions of an enemy's approach. For, at a quarter paſt eleven the guard was turned out, made up and marched off, to relieve that, placed over the French priſoners in the caſtle: the reſt of the men continuing in the field of exerciſe. This was the ſecure ſituation of the garriſon of Carrickfergus, when M. Thurot's ſquadron came to an anchor in the bay; and diſcovered their hoſtile intention, by ſeizing and detaining two fiſhing boats. This was followed by an obſervation of a continual plying of boats between the ſhips and the ſhore; and produced an order for both guards to continue under arms at the caſtle; to double the centinels over the French priſoners, and to be particularly ſtrict and watchful over them, till it ſhould appear whether thoſe three ſhips were friends or foes.

Thurot lands, and Carrickfergus attacked.

For this purpoſe Lieutenant Hall was detached, with a reconnoitring party. Who deſcried a conſiderable body of troops, landed from eight boats, that immediately drew up in detachments, and took poſt on the dykes, hedges, and all the riſing grounds, from whence they could command the moſt extenſive views. This diſcovery removed

utmoſt expedition, at Newry, four regiments of infantry, viz. Pole's, Anſtruther's, Sandford's and Seabright's; and three regiments of dragoons, viz. Moſtyn's, York's and Whiteley's.

all

all doubt about the ſhips: and Lieutenant Hall gave the neceſſary orders to his non-commiſſion officers and men, to have a watchful eye on their approaches, and to take particular care, that they did not get round them, by going at the foot of the hill, undiſcovered; in order to prevent which, he poſted them himſelf, and told them, as ſoon as ever their advanced guard came within ſhot, to fire upon them, and continue ſo to do until they repulſed them; or, if neceſſitated to retreat, he likewiſe pointed that out to them, with orders to take every opportunity, or advantage of ground, in their retreat, to retard the enemy's approach, and to be ſure to keep a communication with the town as much as poſſible: and on this he immediately went to the town, and acquainted Colonel Jennings, where he found him with the troops on the parade; who immediately ordered detachments to be made, to defend the gates of the town, and all the avenues leading thereto: ſoon after which the reconnoitring party retired, after having ſpent all their ammunition. During which time the lieutenant-colonel, and chief magiſtrate of the town, ſent off the ſheriff, and Mr. Mucklewaine, (who was captain of the militia of the corporation) with orders to take off the French priſoners of war, and convey then with all ſpeed to Belfaſt, where they were to receive further orders. By this time the enemy were in full march for the town, computed to be near a 1000 men; and two or three ſtraggling huſſars, on horſes they had picked up after landing, attempted to enter the gates; but tho' A. D. 1760.

A. D. 1760. Defence of the town.

on the firſt fire they retired, they were ſoon ſupported by parties of foot, who attacked both the north and ſouth gates, as alſo the garden-walls of Lord Donnegall, but were repulſed alſo, and kept back as long as the men had ammunition; on which, Colonel Jennings ordered the whole to retire to the caſtle; which he had ſufficient time to do, as at this time the enemy was a little checked from our fire, and would have been more ſo had the men had ammunition.

Before the gates of the caſtle were ſhut, they made their appearance in the market place; and then it was, the deſtruction of the enemy would have commenced, had it not been, that ſtill for the dreadful want of ammunition, notwithſtanding the ſupply of powder they had had, a few days before, from Belfaſt; but were in want of ball, and even time, if they had had lead, to make them up. The enemy, finding our fire ſo cool, on that account, attacked the gates ſword in hand; and by the battering of the ſhot on both ſides, the bolts being knocked back, the gates opened, and the enemy marched in: but Lieutenant-Colonel Jennings, Lord Wallingford, Captain Bland, Lieutenant Ellis, with ſome other gentlemen, and about 50 men, repulſed the enemy, and beat them back. Here it was the enemy ſaw great reſolution in a few Iriſh boys, who defended the gate, after it was opened, with their bayonets; and thoſe from the half moon, after their ammunition was gone, threw ſtones and bricks.

Had

Had this attack of the enemy been ſupported with any degree of courage, they muſt certainly have ſucceeded in it, but they retired back under cover, leaving the gates open, with our men in the front of it, who gave them a ſhort time to conſider what was beſt to be done; firſt, to ſee the men's ammunition, who, if they had had any, would have certainly ſallied, and even ſo without it, had not Colonel Jennings, and all the officers, thought the enterprize too hazardous. Then they conſidered, if the gate could be defended, the breach in the caſtle wall could not, it being near 50 feet long; and, having but a ſhort time to deliberate, all agreed a parley ſhould be beat, and Lieutenant Hall ſent out to know on what terms they might ſurrender; which was accordingly done, and, on his going out, found the greateſt part of the enemy under ſhelter of the old walls and houſes before the caſtle gate. He, after the uſual ceremony, demanded of the commandant (the general being wounded) what terms would be given the troops on their ſurrender, and at the ſame time ſent the drum to call Colonel Jennings out of the caſtle, in order to treat with the French commandant on articles of capitulation, which were as follow, viz.

A. D. 1760.

Bad conduct of the enemy.

Parley beat.

"Colonel Jennings demanded, that the troops ſhould march out with all the honours of war, and the officers to be on their parole in Ireland, and not to be ſent priſoners to France; the ſoldiers alſo to ſtay in Ireland, and that an equal number of French priſoners ſhould be ſent to

Capitulation.

A. D. 1760. France, within one month, or as ſoon after as ſhips could be got ready for that purpoſe.

Granted.

That the caſtle of Carrickfergus ſhould not be demoliſhed, or any of the ſtores deſtroyed, or taken out of it.

Granted.

That the town and county of Carrickfergus ſhould not be plundered or burnt, on condition the mayor and corporation furniſhed the French troops with neceſſary proviſions.

Granted."

Broke by the French. Theſe were the *verbal articles* agreed on, tho' on *writing* them, the French commandant, after conſulting the principal officers, declared, he could not, by any means, anſwer to his maſter, the French King, the granting to his Britannic Majeſty the ſtores in the caſtle, which he inſiſted upon; and Colonel Jennings, to his great grief, had it not in his power to refuſe, declaring ſolemnly, at the ſame time, with a grave countenance, that he had rather have been buried in the ruins. To which the French commandant replied, that he could not inſert it in the articles of capitulation, yet he would give his word and honour, and did ſo, that if there was nothing of great value in the caſtle, belonging to the King, beſides powder, he would not touch it, which there really was not. Likewiſe the magiſtrates of Carrickfergus, not furniſhing the French with neceſſary proviſions, they plundered the town, declaring it was their own fault, as they were convinced they had it in

Town plundered.

their

their power to ſupply them, as they had found enough in the town afterwards. A. D. 1760.

M. Thurot being convinced by this eſſay towards a proof of the reſiſtance he might expect on this iſland; that his ſucceſs was owing entirely to the want of ammunition; and informed of the fate of M. Conflans's defeat, and that the neighbouring people had joined the militia, and were aſſembling from all parts at Belfaſt[x], to the amount Thurot reſolves to reimbark.

[x] Carrickfergus, ſo named, as it is ſaid, from Fergus I. King of Scotland, who landed there with a large body of men from that country, and is reported to have been drowned in paſſing the bay, is a market town, and a diſtinct county of juriſdiction, in the county of Antrim. Its diſtance from Dublin is 89 Iriſh, or about 113 Engliſh miles, due north. It is ſituated on a point of land at the opening of a very fine bay, where is a large and ſafe road for veſſels of great burden, and a very handſome pier for merchant ſhips and ſmaller craft. It is fortified by a caſtle, which formerly had great ſtrength, and is advantageouſly ſituated on an eminence, which commands part of the bay; but of late years has been more employed as a barrack for the quartering of troops, than with a view to any defence from it; ſo that it is now conſiderably out of repair. It is remarkable for the landing of King William III.

Belfaſt is between eight and nine Iriſh miles ſouth-weſt from Carrickfergus. It has been a walled town, but its walls are now entirely ruined. It is a very large and populous trading town, and has been greatly improved within theſe few years, both in its buildings and riches. The great manufacture of the place is linnen, of which they export great quantities to England and to Scotland, with the latter of which they keep up a very conſiderable trade, taking in exchange their gauzes, ghentings, &c. It is ſituated at the bottom of Carrickfergus bay, the water flowing ſalt quite up to the town, where there is

A. D. 1760. amount of ſeveral thouſands, and that four regiments of infantry, and three of dragoons, had orders,

is a very fine quay, at which lie veſſels from all parts of the world, more eſpecially from America; and the ſmall craft, by means of a canal cut through the middle of the main ſtreet, for almoſt its whole length, are able to come up into the heart of the town. It is extremely well ſtored with proviſions of all ſorts, particularly wild fowl and fiſh, of which laſt the ſalmon is extremely fine and large; the fiſhery in the bay employing and maintaining great numbers of the poor. The principal buildings in this town, are, 1. The bridge, which is a very fine one, built of ſtone, conſiſting of near thirty arches, and broad enough for two carriages to paſs a-breaſt; it may properly be ſaid to be built over the bay; for the quay terminates at one end of it, and the ſhipping lie in a ſufficient depth of water to the very foot of it. It grows much narrower and ſhallower, however, immediately above it, and runs up a great way into the country, under the name of the Laggon water. 2. The caſtle: this was formerly the reſidence of the garriſon; but has not now the leaſt appearance of any ſtrength, being converted into apartments, the beſt of which are inhabited by the agent of the Earl of Donegal, to whoſe eſtate the greateſt part of the town belongs. 3. The barracks: theſe are ſituated in the outſkirts of the town; they are handſome and commodious, but much out of repair. And laſtly, the linnen-hall: this is a neat and elegant building, on the ſame model with that in Dublin, and contains above 100 ſmall warehouſes (on which the ſeveral linnen merchants names, of the north, who deal with this town, are inſcribed and numbered) which encloſe a large open ſquare, wherein, at certain times of the year, a great concourſe of merchants aſſemble, for tranſacting the wholeſale linnen trade of the north part of Ireland. The inhabitants of this town, for the moſt part, are preſbyterians, border very much on the manners of the Scotch nation, and ſpeak with a very ſtrong Caledonian accent. The juriſdiction of this

orders, from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to march with all expedition to cut him off from his ſhips; he, after deſtroying the ammunition and cannon at Carrickfergus, and embarking his men with precipitation, determined to depart from that coaſt, where he alſo might expect to be ſhortly locked up by a ſquadron, as ſoon as it could be known where he was at anchor. A. D. 1760. Sails for the coaſt of England.

This ſervice for his deſtruction, was reſerved for the brave Captain Elliot, then at Kingſale, who, by information from the Lord Lieutenant, of Thurot's lying before Carrickfergus, on the 24th of February, ſailed immediately in the Æolus, with the Pallas and Brilliant, in queſt of the enemy, and arrived in the evening of the 26th at the entrance of Carrickfergus. But the weather proving tempeſtuous, and the wind contrary, he could not get in. However, being next day informed of what had paſſed, and of the courſe the enemy was expected to have ſteered, Captain Elliot got ſight of them on the 28th, at four in the morning, and gave chace; and about nine having got along ſide the Belleiſle, their commodore, off the iſle of man, the action became general, and in about an hour and half, when Captain Elliot's lieutenant boarded Thurot's ſhip, and ſtruck his colours with his own hand, the gallant commander being ſlain in the action, and thrown into the ſea by his own men, all the enemy's ſhips Purſued by Captain Elliot, &c. Defeated, killed, &c.

this town is under a ſeneſchal, or ſovereign, annually elected, and it ſends two members to parliament.

ſtruck,

A. D. 1760. ſtruck, and an end was put to all the fears, that had ſo long filled the coaſts of theſe kingdoms of a deſcent and plunder by M. Thurot's ſquadron, with the ſmall loſs of five men killed and thirty-one wounded: though the enemy had above 300 killed and wounded in this engagement. The French ſhips were conveyed, by the victors, into Ramſey bay, in the Iſle of Man, to be repaired; the Belleiſle having loſt her boltſprit, mizen maſt, and main yard, and ſo leaky as not to be fit for ſea.

Loſs on both ſides.

Importance of this victory.

A victory obtained with ſo much bravery over an enemy of ſuch ſuperior ſtrength, with ſo much magnanimity; and that delivered the three kingdoms from the fatal effects, that might have befallen to their peace and commerce, from the continuance of the enemy on thoſe ſeas, was celebrated with great rejoicing, as a moſt important ſervice: and the conquerors were accordingly diſtinguiſhed in a moſt public manner by the Iriſh parliament, whoſe commons voted them the thanks of their houſe; and the city of Cork preſented Captains Elliot, Clemens, and Logie, with their freedom in ſilver boxes: though great murmurings expreſſed the general diſcontent of the nation, at the manifeſt neglect of the ſecurity of Carrickfergus, which was the only magazine in the north of Ireland, from whence all the troops, &c. were to be ſupplied with powder and ball, &c. and whoſe fortifications were ſo much out of repair, that they could not be maintained; though the parliament of Ireland had at ſeveral times, lately granted

granted 450,000 l. for repairing the fortifications of that kingdom [y]. A. D. 1760.

The

[y] To this account of Thurot's expedition, the following particulars of his life are added, from a pamphlet publiſhed, by John Francis Durand, a clergymen of good character.

Thurot was born at Boulogne in France, his father and mother being both natives of that place; but his grandfather, by his father's ſide, was a native of Ireland, and captain in the Iriſh army under King James the Second, with whom he went off when he quitted that kingdom.

During King James the Second's reſidence at St. Germain's, Captain Farrel was one of his houſhold, and paid his addreſſes to Mademoiſelle Thurot, whoſe uncle was a member of the parliament of Paris.

He married her, but ſo great was the diſpleaſure of all the young lady's friends, that none of them would look upon her; and three years after the death of his royal maſter, poor Farrel retired to Boulogne, in hopes that ſome of his wife's relations there would have more compaſſion than thoſe he had left in the metropolis: but he was miſtaken, for here he was obliged to ſubſiſt wholly on a very ſmall penſion which Queen Catherine allowed to all the diſcharged ſervants of the deceaſed King.

At Boulogne our Thurot's father was born, but not till three months after his own father's death; nor did Mademoiſelle Farrel herſelf outlive her huſband much above a year; ſo that the boy being taken by his mother's relations, went by their name.

Old Thurot is now alive at Boulogne, and was originally bred to the law; he had three wives, the ſecond of which was called Picard, a vintner's daughter; and this was the mother of our Thurot.

She died in child birth of him, and a remarkable accident happened at his chriſtening, to which he in a great meaſure owed his late high fortune.

While

A. D. 1760. Affairs in Germany.

We left the allied army, after the battle of Minden, taking proper meaſures to defeat the intentions

While his father held him at the font, his mother was receiving the laſt office, that of ſepulture without in the church yard; this had ſuch an effect upon Thurot, who had been a tender huſband, that the tears ſtreemed from his eyes in great abundance.

It is the cuſtom in Roman Catholic countries about Chriſtmas, at which ſeaſon of the year this happened, for ladies of the firſt diſtinction to go into churches, and offer themſelves as ſponſors, for whatever children are brought to be baptized.

One Madam Tallard, a woman of great rank and fortune, was now ſtanding for little Thurot, and obſerving the extreme agony in which the father of the child appeared, enquired what was the cauſe of it, and the prieſt informed her. She was ſo touched, that ſhe made him a handſome preſent, and deſired, if the boy ſhould live till ſhe returned again into thoſe parts, he might be ſent to ſee her.

When he was about 15 years of age, one Farrel came to Boulogne, who by ſome means or other got acquainted with old Thurot, and learning the origin of the family claimed relationſhip.

This man was the commander of a veſſel, and uſed to ſmuggle goods; he aſſured old Thurot, that the houſe of the O'Farrels was ſtill a flouriſhing houſe at Connaught, and offered, if he would let his young ſon go over with him, to make his fortune; to which he conſented.

Thurot was equipped at the expence of his Iriſh couſin, and ſet out with him for Limerick, but ſtopped at the Iſle of Man upon ſome buſineſs of the ſmugglers. And here taking ſome diſguſt, he refuſed to follow his couſin O'Farrel any farther.

After Farrel had ſailed away, it was ſome time before a ſhip bound for France came into the port; ſo that Thurot was obliged to look about him for ſupport: and being a handſome, ſpirited lad, a gentleman of Angleſey took a fancy to him, and he entered into his ſervice.

This

tentions the French had upon Hanover and Heſſe. A. D. 1760.
M. Contades was obliged to take up his quarters with

This perſon was old in the trade of running goods, and had ſeveral ſmall veſſels continually paſſing between the Iſle of Man and Ireland, laden with contraband commodities; with theſe he frequently ſent Thurot; and once lodged him, at Carlingford, near a year, with one of his factors, to manage ſome buſineſs of conſequence.

In this place he acquired his firſt knowledge of the Engliſh tongue, and at length determined, inſtead of returning to the Iſle of Man, to go to Dublin, and ſee whether he could not learn ſome tidings of thoſe relations about whom he had ſo often heard. Accordingly he ſet out for Dublin, with about eleven ſhillings in his pocket.

Whether he ever met with any of his Iriſh kinsfolk, is not known, but he was in Dublin reduced ſo low, that he was glad to enter into the family of Lord B—— as his valet. Here he lived near two years, by the name of Dauphine, and might perhaps have lived much longer, but for a moſt unhappy affair which happened in the family, and which made a great noiſe in the world. Thurot was in high favour with his miſtreſs, and being ſuſpected to be her confidant, was diſmiſſed his lordſhip's ſervice, as was at the ſame time my lady's woman, with whom young Thurot was on very good terms.

Lord B—— having laid things to Thurot's charge, of which he knew himſelf innocent, he ſpoke his mind of his lordſhip ſo freely, that Dublin became a very improper place for him to remain in. His friend, the waiting woman, whoſe name was Lynch, was ſoon after her diſmiſſion from the family of Lord B——, received into that of the Earl of A——, who had a great eſtate in the north of Ireland, and going down thither the following ſummer, Thurot followed her.

In this place he made himſelf acceptable to many gentlemen, and to the Earl of A—— by his ſkill in ſporting; but his ſituation being near the ſea, and the oppoſite coaſt of Scotland favouring the trade of ſmuggling, in which he was a much

A. D. 1760. with many diſadvantages: and Prince Ferdinand neglected no opportunity to improve his ſucceſs.

We

much greater maſter than in cocking or hunting, he ſoon got in with a gang of theſe people. As he was generous in the higheſt degree, he made no ſcruple of beſtowing upon his favourites a piece of India ſtuff for a gown, a yard or two of muſlin, or ſome tea, which by degrees being known, he was applied to for ſome of theſe things in the mercantile way.

Thurot could not withſtand the ſollicitation, and uſed frequently to ſell tea, china, chocolate, India goods, and brandy at an eaſy rate. This trade continued ſome months, till one of his cuſtomers, a lady, being more rapacious than the reſt, laid out fifty pounds at once with him, by which means her houſe was made a warehouſe, and the exciſe people getting notice of it, came to ſearch, found the goods, and ſeized them.—Thurot was diſcovered by the honeſt trader, and three nights after, the officers having laid their ſcheme, fell in with ſome boats laden with run goods, four of which fell into their hands, but the veſſel in which was our captain, and which was lighter than the reſt, had the good fortune to make the coaſt of Scotland; the commodities in the boat were worth about 200 l. but how to get them ſold was the matter. Thurot with his accomplices depoſited them in ſafe places, and it was propoſed that two of them, who were Scotchmen, ſhould diſpoſe of them about the country as pedlars. The deſign ſucceeded; for in leſs than three months the whole cargo was ſold off for near 300 l. 150 of which coming to Thurot's ſhare, he made the beſt of his way to Edinburgh, where having equipped himſelf like a gentleman, he was determined to make the beſt of his way to France.

But Mr. V——, a gentleman of French extraction in Edinburgh, who was a merchant, and uſed frequently to ſend veſſels from Edinburgh to London, wanted a maſter for one of his little ſloops, and having ſeen Thurot, who paſſed for a ſea-faring captain; and finding by his accent that he was a Frenchman, made him the offer of it.

Thurot

We have obſerved that General Imhoff was detached to beſiege Munſter. Which after a blockade for A. D. 1760.

Thurot did not heſitate a moment, and the following week the Anie of Edinburgh, Thurot maſter, bound with linnen for London, ſet ſail for the river Thames, where ſhe was burnt, with many others, by ſome pitch taking fire in a neighbouring warehouſe. Thurot having given an account of his truſt to his employer's factor, fixed himſelf near London, taking lodgings in Paddington, where the author of theſe memoirs by mere accident got acquainted with him.

From 1748 to 1752, Captain Thurot was going continually backward and forward between France and England, and ſpent great part of his time in London, by his real name. Part of his time he lodged in a court in Carey-ſtreet, Lincolns-inn-fields, and was then inſtructed in the mathematics by one Mr. Donelly, an Iriſh gentleman, famous for his knowledge and abilities in the mathematical ſtudies.

He uſed frequently to go to a club, which was held every Monday night, ſomewhere about the Seven Dials, and conſiſted wholly of foreigners, chiefly of Frenchmen; ſome of theſe gentlemen took it in their heads one evening moſt groſsly to abuſe the Engliſh and Iriſh, calling them every contemptuous name, which liquor and ill-manners could ſuggeſt. Thurot liſtened to them for ſome time with a good deal of patience; till at length, finding they intended to ſet no bounds to their inſolence, he very calmly got up, and ſeizing the two, which ſat next to him, each by the noſe, without ſaying a ſyllable, he led them to the door, put them out, and bolted it after them; then returning to his ſeat; come gentlemen, ſaid he, let us drink about, and call another ſubject.—He afterwards became commander of a ſhip bound from Dunkirk, and lodged in Shadwell.

In this place he lived with a woman, who paſſed for his wife, and rented a houſe three years, during which time he never failed of running over two or three times a year between

A. D. 1760. Siege of Munſter.

for ſome time, and ſix days open trenches, ſurrendered to his arms on the 20th of November, by capitulation; the very day on which the Pruſſians were defeated at Maxen, and Admiral Hawke

London and Calais, Dunkirk, and other French ports. This woman was with him during all this grand expedition.

After the year 1752, his chief place of reſidence was at Boulogne, where he became King of the ſmugglers, and during his reign, did not export and import leſs than 20,000 pounds worth of goods a year.

The ſon of Madam Tallard, his godmother, was preſident of the province; and it being well known that ſmugglers infeſted thoſe parts, though the government could not point out the delinquents, he had orders to be very vigilant, and if poſſible to put a ſtop to their mal practices. In conſequence of which M. Tallard arreſted ſeveral of the ſmugglers, and among them was poor Thurot.

After being examined, he was ſent to Dunkirk, and there confined in the common priſon; but Tallard having been his play-fellow when a boy, and perfectly remembering the regard which his mother had for him, procured him his life.

Shortly after this, he was commanded up to Paris, to make diſcoveries that might prevent the robberies of the ſmugglers for the future. He remained there in priſon ſeveral months, but during his examination convinced ſome people in power, that ſhould the war break out with England, which, was at that time contriving, and in the form of an invaſion too, M. Thurot might be rendered a ſerviceable man.

This conſideration, together with M. Tallard's intereſt, not only procured him his liberty, but the command of one of the King's ſloops; but finding in the beginning of the war that his ſloop was not likely to be much employed, and that the thoughts of invading England was laid aſide, he deſired permiſſion to go on board a Dunkirk privateer, in which he commanded till the beginning of the ſummer of the memorable year 1759, when he was advanced to command his laſt expedition.

deſtroyed





His moſt Serene Highneſs
CHARLES WILLIAM FERDINAND,
Hereditary Prince of Brunſwick.

deſtroyed the navy of France. The garriſon inſiſted upon terms for their own liberty, which were granted; but all their cannon, ammunition and proviſion, became a prey to the conquerors. General Imhoff found the fortifications in ſo miſerable a condition, ruined by his battering pieces, that the works were ſcarce tenable. However, he left 5000 men to keep poſt there till further orders, and returned to join the grand army. A. D. 1760. Capitulation.

On the 28th of the ſame month, an expedition was undertaken againſt the Wirtembergers, who paraded in great ſecurity at Fulda. Of which we have the following particulars upon good authority. The Hereditary Prince of Brunſwick and Prince Charles of Bevern, ſet out from Marburgh with the following regiments, viz. De Boch, Hanoverian dragoons, Prince William and Frederick of Heſſe's cavalry, two battalions of the regiments of guards, two of Imhoff's of Brunſwick, the regiment of grenadiers Heſſians, and that of Blunſbach, 100 hunters of Trimbach's corps, one ſquadron of white, and one of black huſſars. This corps, having left their baggage behind, marched the ſame day to Kilſdorff and Hemerſhauſſen; and the following to Angerſbach, their vanguard having in their way gallantly repulſed a body of the enemy, conſiſting of the volunteers of Naſſau. At one o'clock in the morning of the 30th, the whole corps marched directly to Fulda. As the enemy did not in the leaſt expect this viſit, no troops were met on the road. At a little diſtance from Fulda, the Hereditary Prince having Surprize of Fulda by the hereditary Prince.

A. D. 1760. ordered the whole corps to be drawn together; his Serene Highneſs went to reconnoitre in perſon, almoſt up to the gates of the town. As the country forms a plain of tolerable even ground, the right of which is watered by the river of Fulda, the Wirtemberg troops had ranged themſelves in ſmall bodies on ſeparate ſpots of ground, againſt which the huſſars and yellow dragoons drew up in front. In the mean time the reſt of his Serene Highneſs's corps, both horſe and foot, went round a hill, and proceeded in their march without interruption till they took poſt upon the flank of the regiments of Wirtemberg, who by degrees retreated into the town, the cannon firing upon them during the whole time they were filing off. The enemy's infantry having made ſome ſhew of forming themſelves in the ſquare of the town, ſome howitzers were played upon them to drive them from thence. The whole corps of the enemy having then paſſed through the town, the huſſars, and yellow dragoons, led on by the Hereditary Prince in perſon, together with the Heſſian grenadiers, and Boch's regiment of dragoons, paſſed it likewiſe in the purſuit: Whilſt Prince Charles of Bevern went round the outſide of it, and paſſed the river over the bridge. The enemy in their retreat ſhut all the gates after them; but they were forced open by cannon. The allies found on the other ſide of the town, the enemy's three battalions of grenadiers, and the regiment of Wernich, formed again in order of battle, as if with an intention of defending themſelves; but the

the reſt of the troops of Wirtemberg had drawn towards the left, and retired as faſt as poſſible. A. D. 1760.

The Hereditary Prince ordered immediately all the huſſars, and Boch's regiment of dragoons, to advance; and in the mean time his Serene Highneſs, with the reſt of the troops, filed off along the heights to the right, till he found himſelf able to gain the enemy's flank. It was then that he broke in upon them; and though they fired in the beſt manner they could, there were but ſix dragoons killed, and 14 wounded, on the ſide of the allies, Count Platen, a captain, was killed in the firſt onſet by a muſket ball. A conſiderable number of the enemy were cut to pieces; and the reſt, having thrown down their arms, were made priſoners of war, together with all their officers. Two pieces of cannon, two pair of colours, and their baggage, fell to the conquerors. Loſs on both ſides.

The next day, the 1ſt of December, 923 priſoners were ſent to Hirſchfield, under an eſcort, commanded by Major Marſhal. The reſt of theſe four battalions were either killed or very much wounded.

The Duke of Wirtemberg was in perſon with his corps, which he had juſt then drawn up for *a feu de joye:* So that theſe regiments were in their beſt cloathing. The Duke had invited all the ladies in the town of Fulda to his table; and to a ball which he intended to have given, that very day. But upon the unexpected news of the hereditary Prince of Brunſwick's being at the gates of the town with his huſſars, the Duke thought pro-

A. D. 1760.

per to get off. That part of his cavalry, which was not taken, was obliged to decamp in haſte with the reſt of his infantry; and to file off on the other ſide of the Fulda. One of theſe regiments of cavalry, the grenadiers, and the regiment of Wernich, were commanded in a very diſorderly manner; and this enabled the allies to cut them ſo eaſily in pieces, and with ſo little loſs.

On the 1ſt of Dec. the Hereditary Prince remained quiet at Fulda the whole day. His Serene Highneſs then advanced as far as Rupertenrode, a place ſituated upon the right flank of the enemy's army.

The time for action drawing near, and it not being poſſible any longer to diſſemble, the belligerent powers to whom their Britannic and Pruſſian Majeſties offered to treat of peace, the Empreſs Queen, the Czarina, and the French King, returned the following fallacious anſwer:

The confederates anſwer to the invitation to peace.

"Her Majeſty, the Empreſs Queen of Hungary and Bohemia; her Majeſty, the Empreſs of all the Ruſſia's; and his Majeſty, the Moſt Chriſtian King, equally animated by the deſire of contributing to the re-eſtabliſhment of the public tranquillity on a ſolid and equitable footing, declare in return;

That his Majeſty, the Catholic King, having been pleaſed to offer his mediation in the war, which has ſubſiſted for ſome years between France and England; and this war, having beſides, nothing in common with that, which the two Em-

preſſes

preſſes with their allies, have likewiſe carried on for ſome years againſt the King of Pruſſia. A. D. 1760.

His Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty is ready to treat of his particular peace with England; through the good offices of his Catholic Majeſty, whoſe mediation he has a pleaſure in accepting.

As to the war which regards directly his Pruſſian Majeſty, their Majeſties the Empreſs Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, the Empreſs of all the Ruſſia's, and the Moſt Chriſtian King, are diſpoſed to agree to the appointing the congreſs propoſed. But as by virtue of their treaties, they cannot enter into any engagement relating to peace, but in conjunction with their allies, it will be neceſſary, in order that they may be enabled to explain themſelves definitively upon that ſubject; that their Britannic and Pruſſian Majeſties, ſhould previouſly be pleaſed to cauſe their invitation to a congreſs to be made to all the powers, that are directly engaged in war againſt the King of Pruſſia, and namely, to his Majeſty the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, as likewiſe to his Majeſty, the King of Sweden, who ought ſpecifically to be invited to the future congreſs."

In purſuance of this reſolution, we find ſeveral attempts made very early in the year by the French army upon the allies. They beat up their quarters at Herborn in the beginning of January, and a captain and 110 men, after a vigorous reſiſtance, were made priſoners of war. But this was ſoon revenged by a party under M. de Derenthal, who relieved the caſtle of Dillenbourg, Skirmiſhes.

A. D. 1760. where he made 40 French, and 700 private men priſoners, and took ſeven pair of colours, and two pieces of cannon.

The cantonment of the two armies. Though the Duke de Broglio had cantoned his troops in the neighbourhood of Friedberg, and Prince Ferdinand had retired to Marpurg, where he eſtabliſhed his head quarters; theſe motions of the French during the winter, convinced the allies, that it behoved them greatly to be upon their guard, and to prepare for an early campaign, with prudence and vigour. Prince Ferdinand was promiſed a further ſupply of Britiſh troops. But, as it muſt be always the caſe on the continent, it was not poſſible for him to bring an army into the field, of equal numbers with the enemy; he therefore reſolved to improve, by his military ſkill, the deficiency of his ſtrength; which was alſo impaired by a detachment of 12000 men, ſent under the command of the hereditary Prince, to reinforce the King of Pruſſia, after the battle of Connerſdorf[z]. M. Broglio, who had lately received the Marſhal's ſtaff, and the command of the French army, laid continually at bay, to ſeize an opportunity to ſurprize the allied army: and with a perſuaſion in his own mind, that the time was come, in the abſence of the hereditary Prince, to favour his attempt, he, by a forced march, on the 25th of December 1759, to Klein Linnes, carried his deſign into action, but failed in the execution. The vigilant Ferdinand had watch-

M. Duke de Broglio's attempt on the allied army in the winter.

[z] See page 480, Vol. III.

ed

ed his motions too narrowly, to ſuffer a ſurprize; and gave him ſuch a warm reception, that after a cannonade for ſome hours, the ſly Frenchman ſneaked back to his old quarters. A. D. 1760.

Prince Ferdinand's conduct.

However, Prince Ferdinand did not let him off ſo cheap. His Highneſs reſolved to ſtreighten the French quarters: and in his diſpoſitions for this purpoſe, Colonel Luckner, at the head of the Hanoverian hunters, fell in with a detachment of 400 men, under the command of Count Maret, and attacked them with ſuch vigour and effect, that only 22 of them eſcaped the ſword or captivity. This action happened on the 29th of December: and on the third day of the new year, it was retalliated with the ſurprize of an advanced poſt of the allies, conſiſting of a captain and 1100 men, at Herborn, as mentioned above.

Why he changed his quarters.

Whilſt the French made theſe motions upon the right of the allied army, the Wurtemburghers, ſupported by ſome of the light troops of France, made incurſions into Heſſe on our left, by Romrot and Alsfeld, as far as Ziegenhayn; and in this manner rendered the arrival of proviſions at Prince Ferdinand's army from the county of Naſſau very difficult, as well as from that ſide, where the Wurtembergers were. The violent rains, which fell at the ſame time, rendered the convoys ſlow in arriving from Caſſel. Prince Ferdinand therefore thought it moſt adviſeable, for the convenience of his troops, to change his quarters of cantonment, and ſent off his heavy baggage the 2d inſtant, and the artillery the 3d. The army marched the 4th:

A. D. 1760. 4th: his Serene Highneſs himſelf led the rear guard on the 5th, and took up his head quarters at Marbourg, without the leaſt interruption from the enemy. The main body of the army was cantoned in the adjacent villages, with an advanced corps at Dillenbourg, and another towards the right of the French. The French attempted to carry off the garriſon of Dillenbourg. But the allies retired into the caſtle, at the approach of the Marquis Dauvet, and held out a cloſe ſiege, till their diſtreſſed ſituation was removed by a ſtrong detachment from the main army. Advice being received that the poſt of Dillenbourg was attacked and cloſely preſſed by the enemy, his Serene Highneſs ſet out at one o'clock in the morning in order to relieve it. And the relief was moſt happily effected by M. de Dernthal, one of his Serene Highneſs's aids de camp. Seven hundred of the French were taken on this occaſion, with about 40 officers, among whom was M. Paravicini; as alſo ſeven pair of colours, and two pieces of cannon. Neither was this the whole loſs in this quarter and on this occaſion. Beaufremont's regiment of dragoons had been poſted in the village of Eybach, on the ſide of Dillenbourg, to cover the ſiege. But Major Keith's Highlanders and Colonel Luckner's hunters, fell upon them, the ſame day with ſuch bravery, that they killed the greater part of the regiment, made many priſoners, and took 200 horſes and all their baggage.

To Marbourg.

Dillenbourg attacked.

Relieved.

Loſs of the enemy.

The action at Eybach.

Skirmiſhes. Next day the allied main army was alarmed on the left by the French grenadiers, ſupported by

eight battalions and a body of dragoons, under the command of M. de St. Germain, but with no advantage. For the Duke of Holſtein putting himſelf at the head of a ſtrong detachment near Erſdorff, obliged him to retire with precipitation, merely by dint of a ſevere cannonade; with the loſs of 50 men, and ſeven officers priſoners. A. D. 1760.

This, and the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, cooled the enemy's courage, and ſo fully compleated the ſecurity of the allies from any immediate ſurprize, that the French parties diſappeared; their army retired into winter quarters in and about Franckfort on the Maine: and Prince Ferdinand cantoned his army at Caſſel, Paderborn, Munſter, and Oſnabrug, where he expected the Britiſh forces by the way of Embden. Winter quarters.

In this ſituation we find both armies till the beginning of March, when the Marquis de Blaiſal, with a detachment of 2400 men, was ordered from the head quarters at Gieſſen, to beat up the quarters of the allies. His firſt attempt was made upon Marpurg, where he forced the gates of the town. The garriſon retired into the caſtle, and kept ſuch a fire upon the enemy, that, not being in a condition to form a ſiege, the Marquis contented himſelf with carrying off hoſtages for the payment of 100,000 florins, impoſed upon the citizens by way of contribution. This detachment proceeded to Hombourg, Alsfeldt, and Hartzburg, other frontier poſts of the allies, in order to break their chain of communication; but found thoſe poſts ſo well ſecured, that they had no ſtomach to attack either of them. Marpurg ſurprized.

But

A. D. 1760.

French inhumanity.

But previous to these motions, the new French marshal exhibited a specimen of his politeness, and the humanity to be expected by an enemy in his power. The town of Hanau-Muntzenberg having acknowledged the regency [z] of Hesse Cassel, without his permission, M. Duke de Broglio demanded 750,000 livres from the magistrates of that town, to be paid within twenty-four hours, on pain of military execution. This demand was sent to the magistrates by the Prince de Robeiq, who paid no regard to the remonstrances of the impossibility to raise such a sum, the country being totally exhausted, and their credit entirely sunk, and rejecting an offer to pay 8000 florins down, which was raised amongst the inhabitants with the greatest difficulty, with a promise to make good the whole demand in a few weeks; this prince reinforced the garrison with two battalions; dispos'd four squadrons in the streets and market-places; shut the gates of the town; planted cannon at every corner; fixed tarred matches to several houses; and, these menaces not being effectual, he ordered the grenadiers to remove the most valuable goods and best effects belonging to the magistrates and merchants, to be deposited in the town-hall, till redeemed with all the money they could possibly squeeze from that ruined city; under the sanction of his most Christian Majesty's special order for so doing [a].

[z] Upon the death of the Landgrave.

[a] The French exacted from the Dutchy of Cleves and the county of La Marck the sum of 3,200,000 livres, which reduced the inhabitants to the utmost distress.

This

This act of power was highly reſented by the allies: and General Luckner was detached with a party to retaliate their inhumanity, by raiſing contributions on the city of Fulda. He ſo far executed his orders as to ſurprize the town, and to carry off hoſtages from thence, but could not maintain his ground, at the approach of a ſtrong body of the enemy, who took poſſeſſion of this poſt, and proceeded to plunder Hirchfeldt and Vacha, a town ſituated on the frontiers of Heſſe, at the head of the chain of cantonments, which the allies had formed on the Werra, and commanded by Colonel Freytag. The colonel, not in a condition to diſpute the poſt with the enemy, retreated to an eminence at a ſmall diſtance from Vacha, and found means there to amuſe the enemy, till he was enabled, by a reinforcement of two battalions of grenadiers, to face about; and, by their help, purſued the French, and obliged them to quit Geiſſa, with a conſiderable loſs. A. D. 1760. Retalliated.

M. Duke de Broglio had now recruited his army to one hundred thouſand men, and formed a ſeparate corps of thirty thouſand men, drawn from Duſſeldorp, Cleves, Cologn and Weſel, to act ſeparately upon the Rhine, in order to divide the forces of the allies. But notwithſtanding this grand preparation to take the field, with a proſpect of ſucceſs, the new marſhal was greatly embarraſſed by the reſignation of ſome of the beſt officers, who were diſguſted at his promotion to the chief command, in prejudice to the rights and intereſts of many old generals, over whom he had been lifted Two French armies. Diſguſted.

A D. 1760. lifted by miniſterial favour and intrigue; and for want of forage for his cavalry, without which it was impoſſible for them to take the field ſo early as intended. A very fortunate circumſtance for the allies. For, though Prince Ferdinand was not better provided, in a country quite exhauſted, and could procure no proviſions otherwiſe than from Hamburg and Bremen; this inaction of the French gave him time to receive the reinforcement of Britiſh troops, by the way of Embden, and completed that corps to 25,000 effective men.

Engliſh troops arrive.

Prince Ferdinand prepares for opening the campaign.

Prince Ferdinand, thoroughly informed of the difficulties and diſguſts of the enemy, and that the nine thouſand Wurtembergers had been recalled from the French army by their Prince, reſolved to try his fortune in the field, his Serene Highneſs collected his forces, and, on the 5th of May marched with his main body to Fritzlar, where they encamped on the 20th, having left General Sporcken, with the troops in the biſhoprick of Munſter, to form a camp near Dulmen, to obſerve the motions of the corps under the Count de St. Germain, who was aſſembling thirty-four battalions and thirty-eight ſquadrons, and were ordered to rendezvous, on the 2d of June, near Weſel. At the ſame time General Imhoff was detached to Kirchain on the Orme; and General Gilſoe, with another detachment, to Hirchfeldt on the Fulda. General Imhoff ordered Colonel Luckner to ſcour the country before him, with his huſſars, who, on the 24th of May, fell

Takes the field.

in

in with a French patrole, who giving the alarm to the garriſon at Butzbach, conſiſting of 500 piquets under General Waldener, they fled with great precipitation; but were purſued, overtaken, routed and diſperſed, having abandoned all their flour, forage, wine and equipage, which was conſiderable, and which Colonel Luckner found in the town, and carried all away, with 100 priſoners, to the camp of General Imhoff at Arrenberg; except ſuch part thereof, as he diſtributed to the poor inhabitants of the town. A. D. 1760. Butzbach ſurprized.

M. Duke de Broglio, immediately upon report of this action, put his main army in motion, and, in perſon, marched with a large body of troops to Freidburg: but did no more than canton that part of his army at Witteraw, and returned again to Franckfort; where he was informed that Prince Ferdinand was ſtill encamped at Fritzlar. Several ſkirmiſhes happened, of no great importance, between General Sporcken and the Count de St. Germain, in the neighbourhood of Duſſeldorp: and between the Hereditary Prince and the enemy in the county of Fulda, who joined the corps under General Gilſoe, with two Engliſh regiments of dragoons, and ſome battalions of grenadiers; who ſurprized and made ſeveral parties of the enemy priſoners. Count St. Germain's corps.

After theſe preludes to victory Prince Ferdinand quitted the camp at Fritzlar, and encamped on the hills between Ziegenheim and Freyſa, with General Imhoff, at a ſmall diſtance on his right, and the Hereditary Prince on his left; having called Prince Ferdinand marches to Corbach.

in

A. D. 1760. in both these detachments. This was effected on the 24th of June: and on the 28th M. Duke de Broglio, having assembled his forces also, marched to Neustadt, and encamped there, and occupied the strong post of Wassamburg, intended to penetrate into, and make himself master of the Electorate of Hanover. For which purpose he ordered the Count de St. Germain to join him at Corbach: to which place he marched with the main army, on the 8th of July, by the way of Franckenburg.

Prince Ferdinand's resolution to attack the French.

The motion of St. Germain's corps drew Prince Ferdinand from Ziegenheim. Who reached the heights of Brenau, near Wildurgen, on the 9th, and he detached the Hereditary Prince with the advanced corps, reinforced with some battalions and squadrons, under General Griffin, to Saxenhausen. The main body of the army under Prince Ferdinand followed the next morning by two o'clock, time enough to sustain the advanced party in case of an attack, had not the impetuosity of the Hereditary Prince's courage drove him precipitately to attack the enemy, before it was possible for Prince Ferdinand to come up to his assistance. For the same morning the Hereditary Prince, having advanced to Corbach, and finding the enemy there already formed, and judging them to be not yet very numerous, and their whole force against him not to exceed 15,000 foot, and 17 squadrons, he formed a design of driving that corps back; and thus an engagement was brought on, and became extremely hot about two o'clock

The battle of Corbach.

in

in the afternoon. The enemy being continually reinforced with freſh troops, and having the ſuperiority of numbers, and a large artillery, the Prince found it not poſſible to diſlodge them from their poſt: and as there was no neceſſity of maintaining that, which he himſelf occupied (our main army being arrived at Saxenhauſen) and it not being practicable for them to come up in time to ſuſtain the Hereditary Prince in his poſt, orders were ſent him by Prince Ferdinand to rejoin the army, part of which was then formed. Accordingly, the Hereditary Prince made his diſpoſitions for a retreat, which was attended with a little confuſion among ſome of our battalions and ſquadrons. The enemy obſerving this, preſſed very briſkly upon our troops, both with their artillery and a large body of cavalry. Our battalions would have ſuffered conſiderably, had it not been for the bravery of the Hereditary Prince, who putting himſelf at the head of one of Bland's ſquadrons, and of Howard's regiment of dragoons, charged the enemy ſo furiouſly, as to enable our infantry to make a ſafe retreat. Fifteen pieces of cannon, however, fell into the hands of the enemy, which could not be carried off for want of the horſes, that were killed in the action. Our loſs in men, killed, wounded and priſoners amounted to five hundred. General Count Kielmanſegge, diſtinguiſhed himſelf greatly in this affair, as well as Major-General Griffin, with the two Britiſh battalions of Brudenell and Carr, and particularly one ſquadron of Bland's, commanded by Major Mill,

A. D. 1760.

Hereditary Prince's raſhneſs.

Defeated.

A. D. 1760. and Howard's regiment of dragoons; and the troops in general ſhewed great good-will and alacrity [b]. The Hereditary Prince was wounded in the ſhoulder, but not dangerouſly.

Not-

[b] The French account is dated from Neider Enſe, July 11, and is as follows:

Marſhal Broglio, by a wiſe combination of his motions on the river Ohm, and by the celerity and ſecrecy with which they were executed, got the ſtart of Prince Ferdinand, who thought to have diſputed his paſſing it. The conſequences thereof have been the taking of Marbourg, which will be quickly followed by the ſurrender of Dillenbourg. The ſame prudence, and the ſame meaſures, concealed from Prince Ferdinand the rapid march which brought the King's army in two days from Neuſtadt towards Corbach, and that which brought thither, at the ſame time, the body of reſerve from the Lower Rhine.

However, Prince Ferdinand, who had leſs way to march to get thither, had time to cauſe ſome bodies of troops, which he had beyond his right, to occupy the heights and the woods, which commanded that poſt, and without which it could not be kept. Ten thouſand of his troops were placed there on the 9th, before the head of ours could arrive at the camp of Neider Enſe, which is above a league from it. During that night, and in the morning of the 10th, their number was augmented to near 30 000: they took poſſeſſion of the woods and the heights, to give the reſt of the army time to join them, that the whole might take place there. This opportunity was not to be let ſlip. A ſufficient number of troops was not yet arrived. Not only the reſerve, under the Count of Luſatia, was at a great diſtance, but the bridges to bring the army from the camp to Neider Enſe were not finiſhed, and only two brigades of foot of the reſerve of the Count de St. Germain were yet arrived. The marſhal wiſely judged, that he was not to wait for what muſt come too late. He cauſed four brigades of foot to advance with all haſte; he joined the two

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Notwithſtanding this diſappointment, the gallant Prince who commanded ſuffered no diſcredit. On the contrary, his intrepid behaviour in putting himſelf at the head of a handful of Engliſh horſe, and by that means preventing a total defeat, did as much honour to his military character, as the gaining a victory. The wounds he received on this occaſion, inſtead of abating his ardour, ſeemed rather to have animated the young hero to meditate revenge. For, advice, on the 18th, having been received by Prince Ferdinand, That a body of the enemy, conſiſting of ſome battalions and light troops, were advanced on the left of our army, towards Ziegenheim, the Hereditary Prince immediately put himſelf in march, with ſix battalions, two Hanoverian and four Heſſian, Elliot's regiment, (which was juſt arrived) Luckner's huſſars, and two brigades of Chaſſeurs, to oppoſe

A. D. 1760. Remarks.

Seeks revenge.

of St. Germain; he cauſed the right of the woods, occupied by the enemy, to be attacked, and turned their right, whilſt the woods in their center were attacked in front. The light troops, the dragoons, and the cavalry, who were formed in order of battle as they came up, ſupported this attack, and curbed the enemy's cavalry, who wanted to protect their foot. Their foot were repulſed, and driven from the heights, and out of the woods. A regiment of Engliſh horſe, who advanced againſt our troops, were hewn in pieces by the Dauphiny volunteers and the dragoons. In fine, after a cannonading, which laſted nine hours, and a long and ſmart fire of ſmall arms, all the enemy's troops retired in diſorder towards the woods and heights at their backs, where Prince Ferdinand's army was arrived. They left behind them nineteen pieces of cannon, and two haubitzers; and we took another piece of cannon in purſuit.

A. D. 1760. that corps. On the 16th the Hereditary Prince engaged them near the village of Emſdorff. The action was very warm for ſome time, but in the end the enemy was entirely defeated. Two battalions of royal Baviere, three of Anhalt, together with the commander in chief Major-General Glaubitz, and the Prince of Anhalt Coethen, were made priſoners of war. Six pieces of their cannon were taken, and all their arms, baggage, &c. Elliot's regiment ſignalized themſelves greatly upon this occaſion [c].

Action of Emſdorff.

French defeated.

While theſe tranſactions retrieved the honour of the allies after the repulſe, which the Hereditary Prince

[c] For the ſucceſs of the allies at Emſdorff, the following thanks were returned by Prince Ferdinand, dated Saxenhauſen camp, July 20.

"His Serene Highneſs orders it to be publickly teſtified to the whole army, how much he is charmed and ſatisfied with the good conduct and valour of the corps that fought on the 16th inſtant, under the orders of the Hereditary Prince.

"The praiſes the Prince gave of them to the Duke were ſuch, that nothing can be ſaid in addition to them.

"His Serene Highneſs therefore gives his beſt thanks to thoſe brave troops, and particularly to Elliot's regiment, which was allowed by every body preſent, to have done wonders.

"The Prince could not enough commend to the Duke, the bravery, good conduct, and good countenance with which that regiment fought.

"His Serene Highneſs deſires much to be able to find means to acknowledge to Major Erſkine principally, who was at the head of that regiment, and led it ſo gallantly, as well as to the officers and men, his real ſatisfaction, and to have it in his power to do them ſervice. He deſires thoſe gentlemen to furniſh him with an opportunity of doing it, and he ſhall ſeize it with pleaſure."

To

Prince met with at Corbach, M. Duke de Broglio remained encamped on the adjacent heights of that town; having, in his march from Franckfort detached ſufficient forces to reduce the caſtles of Marpurg and Dillenbourg, whoſe garriſons were obliged to ſurrender priſoners of war. But theſe were not conqueſts ſufficient to ſooth his pride and ſelf-conceit: which, on the other hand, met with a heavy mortification in the loſs of the Count of St. Germain, the Marquis de Voyer and the Count de Luc, who were not only Broglio's ſeniors in commiſſion, but at leaſt of equal capacity, and could boaſt of much more experience in the art of war; and therefore diſdained to ſerve under their junior. Upon which occaſion the Count de St. Germain's command was conferred upon M. de Muy.

A. D. 1760.

Count St. Germain, &c. leave the French army.

The abſence of the diſguſted generals was ſoon felt in the future operations of the French army. Prince Ferdinand having formed a deſign to attack, or to force the enemy to an engagement, detached General Sporcke, on the 28th of July, to take poſt between Liebenau and Corbeke; and on the 29th his Serene Highneſs diſpatched after him a reinforcement, in which were two

Prince Ferdinand's deſign to force the enemy to fight.

To this may be added, that the loſs of the allies on this occaſion was 85 killed (75 of which were of Elliot's regiment) and 95 wounded. Of the enemy, 177 officers, and 2482 private men were taken priſoners. In the action near Corbach were killed of the allies 178, wounded 467, miſſing 179. Total 824. Loſt twelve pieces of cannon, four haubitzers, and thirty ammunition waggons.

A. D. 1760. Engliſh battalions of grenadiers, two regiments of Highlanders and four ſquadrons of dragoons, Cope's and Conway's; to reconnoitre the poſition of the Chevalier de Muy, who commanded 35,000 men, the reſerve of the enemy's left, and was encamped with his right at Warbourg, and his left at the heights oppoſite to the village of Menne and Oſſendorff. And it appearing that the Chevalier de Muy, who had paſſed the Dymel at Hadbergen, had thus extended his corps down the banks of that river, in order to cut off the allies from Weſtphalia, whilſt M. de Broglio was advancing with his main army towards their camp at Kalle; and Prince Xavier of Saxony advanced with his reſerve, on the left of the allies, towards Caſſel; Prince Ferdinand left General Kielmanſegge, with a body of troops, at Caſſel, for the protection of that city, kept his army under arms all day on the 30th, and at about eleven at night his Serene Highneſs marched with the army in ſix columns; paſſed the Dymel between Liebenau and Dringelbourg, without loſs or moleſtation; and about five, next morning, the whole army aſſembled and formed in the heights of Corbeke. But, according to a previous agreement, it having been concerted that the Hereditary Prince and General Sporcke ſhould turn the enemy's left, whilſt Prince Ferdinand advanced with the army upon their front; the Hereditary Prince, at the time the main body was forming, marched in two columns, and, by marching to Donhelbourg, leaving Klein-Elder on his left, and forming in two lines,

The ſtrength and ſituation of M. de Muy.

Prince Ferdinand's diſpoſitions for an attack.

lines, with his left towards Doſſel, and his right near Grimbeck, oppoſite to the left flank of the enemy, whoſe ſituation was with their left on the high hill near Oſſendorff, and their right to Warbourg, he completed his deſign with all poſſible ſucceſs; a thick fog, which continued till half an hour paſt nine in the morning of the 31ſt, covering their motions from the ſight of the enemy; though the Chevalier de Muy, in conſequence of his intelligence from M. de Broglio, concerning the march of the allies, had detached the Marquis de Caſtries, a Lieutenant-General, with all the grenadier companies, and the hunters belonging to the foot, two regiments of dragoons and Fiſcher's people, to find out and mark their motions, ſo early as at day-break. A. D. 1760.

The fog being diſperſed, it was diſcovered that the allies ſeemed to direct their march in two columns againſt the left flank. Therefore the Chevalier de Muy placed on the heights of Menne the four brigades of foot of Bourbonnois, la Couronne, Jenner and Planta, under the command of the Marquis de Segur, lieutenant-general; and the Major-Generals d'Amenzaga and de Travers. The brigades of la Tour du Pin, and Touraine, under the command of Lieutenant-General de Maupeou and Major-General de Roquepine, were diſpoſed on the right, on this ſide of Warbourg. The Lieutenant-Generals de Lutzelbourgh and d'Auvet, with the Major-Generals de Lugeac, de Soupire and de Manginon, with the cavalry, occupied the centre, oppoſite to a very extenſive Diſpoſition of the enemy.

A. D. 1760. plain. The dragoons were placed between the right of the foot and the left of the horſe, and were commanded by the Duke de Fronſac. The brigade of Rourge formed a reſerve on a ſmall eminence, behind the left of the cavalry. The artillery was diſpoſed in the front of the line. Fiſcher's people occupied the town and the tower of Warbourg.

The column of foot of the allies right wing, having turned the heights behind the French left, by the village of Eſſendorff, the Chevalier de Muy cauſed the brigades of Bourbonnois, la Couronne and Jenner, to advance to the tower, which is on thoſe heights, and at the ſame time brought up the brigades of Rouergue and Touraine to ſupport them. The head of the allies firſt column got before the French, to the height behind their left, whilſt their ſecond column advanced in a parallel line in the bottom.

Whereupon the Chevalier de Muy cauſed the French brigades of his left to form in two lines, and the engagement began. The Hereditary Prince immediately attacked the enemy's flank; and, after a very ſharp diſpute, obliged them to give way; and, by a continual fire, kept forcing them to fall back upon Warbourg: the enemy being attacked almoſt in the ſame inſtant by General Sporcke and the Hereditary Prince in flank and rear. The army was, at this time, marching with the greateſt diligence to attack the enemy in front; but the infantry could not get up in time; General Waldegrave, at the head of the

Battle begun.

Britiſh

Britiſh, preſſed their march as much as poſſible; no troops could ſhew more eagerneſs to get up, than they ſhewed. Many of the men, from the heat of the weather, and over-ſtraining themſelves to get on, through moraſſy and very difficult ground, ſuddenly dropped down on their march. A. D. 1760.

General Moſtyn, who was at the Britiſh cavalry that was formed on the right of our infantry, on the other ſide of a large wood, upon receiving the Duke's orders to come up with the cavalry as faſt as poſſible, made ſo much expedition, bringing them up at a full trot, though the diſtance was near five miles, that the Britiſh cavalry had the happineſs to arrive in time, to ſhare the glory of the day, having ſucceſſively charged, ſeveral times, both the enemy's cavalry and infantry.

The Engliſh artillery got up on a gallop [d], and ſeconded the attack in a ſurpriſing manner. Such an appearance and vigour ſtruck the French cavalry with terror; and, though very numerous, they retreated, as ſoon as the Britiſh horſe advanced to charge them; except only three ſquadrons; but they were ſoon broken [e]. A part of the Engliſh cavalry then fell upon the enemy's infantry,

[d] Captain Philips made ſo much expedition with his cannon, as to have an opportunity, by a ſevere cannonade, to oblige thoſe who had paſſed the Dymel, and were formed on the other ſide, to retire with the utmoſt precipitation.

[e] The French account of this battle palliates the affair as much as poſſible, and can't avoid running into the uſual way of fiction, to cover their real loſs and diſgrace.

The

A. D. 1760. fantry, which ſuffered extremely; and particularly the regiment of Lochman Swiſs. Prince Ferdinand

The brigades of Bourbonnois, la Couronne, and Rouergue, led by Meſſ. de Caſtries, Segur and Travers, charged the enemy five times, with the greateſt courage, ſays the French account, and, notwithſtanding their ſuperiority, forced them to give way ſeveral times. Thoſe brigades were well ſeconded by that of Jenner, commanded by M. d'Amenzaga, which had the ſecond column of the enemy to deal with. Mean while the enemy's horſe came into the plain, and part of it advanced againſt the flank of our infantry; to protect which M. de Muy brought up the brigades of horſe of Royal Piedmont and Bourbon.

The combat had continued on the left upwards of four hours, with equal advantage on both ſides, notwithſtanding the ſuperiority of the enemy, when it was obſerved that ſome of the enemy were filing off towards our bridges on the Dymel. The danger was preſſing: to prevent it, the Chevalier de Muy marched thither the brigade of Touraine, under the Marquis de Roquepine. At the ſame time he ordered thither M. de Maupeau, with the brigade of la Tour du Pin, and cauſed the cavalry and dragoons to re-croſs the river: at the ſame time he drew off the infantry of the left. The brigade of Planta covered their retreat with admirable order and bravery. M. de Lugeac, who led the brigade of Bourbon, marched againſt the Engliſh horſe juſt as they were going to fall on our foot, and put them in confuſion. This vigorous and well-timed charge enabled us to paſs the river in good order. The dragoons under the Duke de Fronſac covered the infantry as they came out.

All our troops drew up afterwards in order of battle on the heights before the wood on the right of the Dymel, where batteries were erected, which ſtopped the enemy.

After two hours we marched to Volckmarſen, where we encamped, without the enemy's daring to follow or harraſs us. This retreat, made in ſight of an enemy ſo much ſuperior in number, ſhews the valour of the troops which fought

that

nand ordered an attack to be made on the town of Warbourg, by the legion Britannique: and the enemy finding themſelves thus attacked upon their two flanks, in front and in rear, retired with the utmoſt precipitation, and with the loſs of many men, as well from the fire of our artillery, as from the attacks of the cavalry. Many were wounded in the Dymel, in attempting to ford it. A. D. 1760. French defeated.

that day. Not one pair of colours or ſtandard was taken from us. We loſt ſix pieces of cannon, which it was impoſſible to bring off, notwithſtanding all the pains of Major General Pelletier, by whom all our batteries were placed to the beſt advantage.

We have not as yet received the particulars of our loſs. The enemy make it amount to 3000 killed or wounded. Theirs muſt be more conſiderable.

The Marquis de Caſtries, Major-General de Amenzaga, and Brigadier de Montbarrey, have received ſevere contuſions. Colonel Valence, of the Bourbonnois regiment, the Prince of Rochefort, and the Chevalier de la Tour du Pin, are wounded. The Chevalier de Muy gives the higheſt commendation to all the private men, as well as to the general officers, and other officers who were engaged. He has likewiſe expreſſed his ſatisfaction with the behaviour of the field-officers of the reſerve, particularly M. de Valognie, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf much in the action, and contributed greatly to the good order of the retreat, by the openings he cauſed to be made. M. de Sauveur of the horſe, and M. de la Tour du Pin, of the foot, likewiſe deſerve high commendation. The latter was not wounded till the end of the action, after we had croſſed the Dymel. M. Lochman was made priſoner [ſome accounts ſay he was killed.] M. de la Roche, lieutenant colonel of the regiment of Aumont, is dead of his wounds.

The remainder of the troops, under the Chevalier de Muy, retreated to Wolffhagen, and have been ſince ordered to Stadtberg.——So ſays M. de Muy's account.

The

A. D. 1760. The enemy's loſs was fifteen hundred men killed upon the field of battle; and the amount of the priſoners made, exceeded that number; beſides ten pieces of cannon, with ſome colours. The loſs on our ſide was very moderate, and fell chiefly upon the brave battalion of Maxwell's Engliſh grenadiers, which did wonders. Colonel Beckwith, who commanded the Engliſh brigade, formed of Engliſh grenadiers and Scotch highlanders, diſtinguiſhed himſelf greatly, and was wounded in the head.

Lord Granby, with the Engliſh cavalry, contributed extremely to the ſucceſs of the day.

Marquis of Granby purſues the enemy. The Marquis of Granby, by order from his Serene Highneſs, paſſed the river in the evening, in purſuit of the enemy, with twelve Britiſh battalions and ten ſquadrons: and encamped upon the heights of Wilda, about four miles from Warbourg; on whoſe heights the French grand army was encamped. Upon the appearance of the Marquis, M. de Muy retreated from the heights of Volkmiſſen, where he had laid under arms all night; and took the rout of Wolffhagen.

The loſs of Munden. This fortunate day was immediately ſucceeded by the loſs of Munden; of which Prince Xavier of Saxony, on the firſt day of Auguſt, made himſelf maſter ſword in hand. He made 350 priſoners, and took ſeveral pieces of cannon in this town.

Caſſel, &c. This Prince was puſhing his ſucceſs, and had actually taken Caſſel, Gottingen and Eimbach, and threatened Hamelen with a ſiege, when Major-General Luckner came up with the enemy, at Eimbach,

Eimbach on the 10th in the morning, drove them back, and took the whole detachment of 342 men at Nordheim, priſoners of war. At the ſame time Colonel Donnop attacked 2000 volunteers, detached by M. Broglio into the wood of Sababourg, to preſerve a communication with Prince Xavier. But Donnop diſlodged them; after killing, wounding, and taking 500 men. And the Pruſſian huſſars on this occaſion took three pieces of cannon. However theſe advantages were checked with the loſs of Ziegenheim, and its garriſon of 700 men made priſoners of war: and of 50 officers, and 1000 ſick men found in Caſſel by the French, when abandoned by the allies to ſave the houſes and to prevent the diſtreſſes incident to a ſiege.

A. D. 1760.

General Luckner's and Colonel Donnop's ſucceſs.

Ziegenheim loſt.

The French were greatly diſtreſſed for forage, and had ordered 20,000 men to make a general forage in the neighbourhood of Geiſmar, under the cover of the greateſt part of their army. Which coming to the knowledge of Prince Ferdinand on the 5th of Auguſt, he paſt the Dymel next morning with a body of troops, and poſted them ſo advantageouſly, as rendered the enemy's attempt totally ineffectual: and being informed that 1000 horſe and foot, called the volunteers of Clermont and Dauphine, paſſed their time in a moſt careleſs ſecurity at Zierenberg, not far from the French camp at Dierenberg, his Serene Highneſs, having frightened away the foragers, took the rout of Zierenberg, that ſame morning, and having advanced within a league, without meeting a patrole

Bad ſituation of the French army.

A corps ſurprized at Zierenberg.

A. D. 1760. a patrole, he ordered five battalions, with a detachment of 150 Highlanders, and eight ſquadrons of dragoons [f], to proceed and beat up their quarters by ſurprize. This detachment, leaving their tents ſtanding, marched off, at eight in the evening, and, paſſing the Dymel near Warbourg, they were joined by the light troops under Major Bulow. Thus united, theſe troops agreed upon the manner to form the attack, and how to ſecure a retreat, in caſe of danger. They marched together, till they came to a mill within two miles of Zierenberg, and could ſee the fires and lights of the enemy's grand guard. Here they ſeperated. Maxwell's grenadiers, Kingſley's regiment and the Highlanders, marched forward in profound ſilence by three ſeperate roads. And though the Vedettes of the grand guard challenged them, they did not puſh forward to reconnoitre. But when they came nearer, the French heard their treading, and fired. This obliged them to puſh forwards with the utmoſt expedition, with their unloaded firelocks, and to puſh the piquets. They ſlew the guard at the gates with their bayonets, and ruſhed into the town with ſuch impetuoſity, that the French had not time to aſſemble; but fired from the houſes; which ſo exaſperated the allies, that they broke in upon them, and made a ſevere uſe of their bayonets: and killed many more that attempted to mount their horſes. This aſſault continued a full hour; when the allies re-

[f] Bock's, the Greys and Inniſkillings.

turned

turned with about 400 priſoners, including 40 officers, who threw down their arms in the ſtreets; and carried off two pieces of artillery, with very little loſs, and, perhaps not with much merit on the part of the allies, as ſuch actions are productive of no real advantage. A. D. 1760.

Notwithſtanding the ſeveral advantages gained in the battle of Warburg, and otherwiſe, the French could not be ſaid to be diſabled. Broglio had ſtill a vaſt ſuperiority of troops: and had he puſhed his arms, there is the greateſt reaſon to believe, that the allies could not withſtand him in a general engagement; and that he might have peneterated into Hanover, which ſeemed to be the principal object of his inſtructions. But, as he ſuſpected the affections of his officers, the French marſhal declined a battle, the loſs of which, would in all probability have brought on his own diſgrace: and there was no ſecurity for his army ſhould his communication with the means of ſubſiſting be cut off, as probably might have been the caſe, had he penetrated into Hanover, and left the allied army, under the command of ſuch an able general, as Prince Ferdinand, behind him. But they, who ſeemed to penetrate deepeſt into this meaſure, countenanced by Broglio's future motions, aſcribed this otherwiſe moſt unaccountable conduct of the marſhal duke, to poſitive inſtructions from his court, alarmed about this time by the preparations in England, for ſome vigorous blow: and not judging it ſafe, in caſe it ſhould fall upon France itſelf, as ſuſpected, to truſt

Broglio's ſuperiority.

Motives for his inaction and retreat.

A. D. 1760. truſt the defence of their kingdom to an undiſciplined militia and raw recruits, which at this juncture was the only ſtrength left at home, they ordered their grand army to fall back, to prevent its being detained by the military ſkill of Prince Ferdinand, at too great a diſtance, in Hanover, when its ſervice might be wanted to cover the capital of their own country from the invaſion of the Engliſh. Thus we may rationally account for the inactivity of the grand French army, and for M. Broglio's retreat from Immenhauſen, and entrenching himſelf in a manner that indicated a fear of being attacked near Caſſel; having his right towards that city, and his left towards Weſſenſtein.

Marbourg and Butzbach ſurprized.

Theſe motions being made known, Prince Ferdinand improved the opportunity. He detached ſeveral parties to ſcour the country and to ſurprize the enemy. That commanded by Major Bulow ſurprized Marbourg and Butzbach. He entered theſe towns, deſtroyed the ovens, cloathing, ſpare arms, and other ſtores of the French army: took two ſtandards, eight officers, two companies of the regiment of Rougrave: burnt between two and 300 waggons of flour, and made a large booty for his troops; with which they retired to Frankenberg, and joined Colonel Forſen, upon advice that a ſtrong body of French was marching againſt him, under the command of M. de Stainville, from Mardenhagen. Bulow and Forſen, on the 12th of September, moved their corps towards Franckenau: in which march Stainville came

came up with their rear, as they croſſed the river Orck, or Oricke, near Munden, and charged them with ſuch vigour, that notwithſtanding the allies behaved with great courage and conduct, they were routed with the loſs of eight pieces of cannon, and 1200 men made priſoners, amongſt whom was Colonel Forſen; and perhaps their fate might have been ſtill worſe had not the French been checked in their purſuit by the ſeaſonable arrival of a conſiderable corps, under the command of the Hereditary Prince. For, though his men were too much fatigued by a forced march of five German miles, that he thought it prudent to put off the attack till next morning, his preſence carried ſo much weight with the enemy, that M. de Stainville retired in the night to Frankenburg.

A. D. 1760.

Major Bulow, &c. defeated by M. de Stainville.

General Wangenheim, who was alſo detached with a party, conſiſting of four battalions, and ſix ſquadrons, to drive the enemy from the defiles of Soheite, or Sehede, performed that ſervice: but as he laid afterwards encamped with his Hanoverians at Lawenthagen, a ſuperior force of the enemy attacked him and made him retreat alſo, with the loſs of four pieces of cannon, and about 200 men. As for the main army; Prince Ferdinand made the beſt diſpoſitions to gain ſome advantage over the M. Duke de Broglio, ordering General Gilſoe's corps towards Minden, and to encamp at Sababourg; and the reſerve, under Lord Granby, to advance to Gieſmar, fixing his

General Wangenheim's expedition.

Surprized in his camp.

A. D. 1760. own head quarters at the Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel's palace, at Gieſmar Wells, till the latter end of September; when his Serene Highneſs thought it more eligible to remove them to Ovilgume, in Weſtphalia: where we ſhall leave the allies brooding the deſtruction of their enemies, till we have taken a view of the war in the other parts of Germany.

Affairs of the Pruſſians, &c. In the whole courſe of this war it has been evident that the King of Pruſſia, our ally, met with the greateſt embarraſſment from the Empreſs of Ruſſia: and what he had to expect in the enſuing campaign from that powerful enemy, was apparent in the Czarina's behaviour towards his Britannic Majeſty, who, having tried every motive of intereſt that might follow to her Czariſh Majeſty and her ſubjects, to diſengage her from the confederacy againſt his Pruſſian Majeſty, and in a moſt reſpectful manner had ordered his pacific intentions delivered at the Hague, as mentioned before; to be previouſly communicated to the court of Peterſburg, could obtain no ſatisfactory anſwer. To that previous application her Majeſty the Empreſs of Ruſſia replied, with proper acknowledgments of the receipt of a copy thereof, delivered by Mr. Keith, the Britiſh miniſter at her court. But that ſhe could not give a poſitive anſwer thereto, till ſhe had conſulted with her allies, becauſe it was at the Hague, and not to her Imperial Majeſty alone, to be made in form. However, ſhe took this opportunity to explain

her intentions ſo fully upon her future conduct in this war, as ſufficiently to ſhew that ſhe was reſolved to proceed, to the utmoſt of her power, in the execution of ſuch meaſures, as might tend to diſtreſs and ruin the King of Pruſſia. For, Mr. Keith, having ſome time before, by order of his court, endeavoured to ſound the temper of the Ruſſian court, by intimating to her Czariſh Majeſty, in a conference with the chancellor, "That not only the King his maſter, but that likewiſe the King of Pruſſia, deſired to renew with her Imperial Majeſty the good harmony, that formerly ſubſiſted;" her Imperial Majeſty of Ruſſia ordered this anſwer to be given [h]: "That ſhe has always been, and ever will be, careful to live in harmony with all the powers of Europe: that the whole world knew that her Majeſty entered into this war with a repugnance equal to the vigour with which ſhe had carried it on; nor did ſhe engage therein till after the ſtrongeſt declarations proved ineffectual with the King of Pruſſia, and her allies were already attacked by that Prince: that her Majeſty was indeed ſenſibly affected by the effuſion of ſo much innocent blood, which coſt her humanity very dear; but that ſo-much deſired peace was ſtill afar off, if the hopes that were placed in the pacific ſentiments of her Majeſty were the only foundations thereof; her Majeſty being firmly reſolved religiouſly to execute the ſolemn promiſes ſhe had given to procure to the injured powers a

A. D. 1760.

Declaration and anſwer of the Czarina.

[h] On the 3d of December 1757, O. S.

A. D. 1760.

juſt and ſufficient ſatisfaction; not to conclude any peace, but on honourable, ſafe, and advantageous conditions, and in concert with her faithful allies: and, in fine, never to ſuffer that, for the ſake of ſaving the effuſion of innocent blood for a ſhort time only, the repoſe of Europe ſhould ſtand expoſed to the ſame dangers as before; but that if ſatisfactory propoſitions for a peace ſhould be offered, her Imperial Majeſty was ready to accede to whatever her allies in conjunction with her ſhould find reaſonable."

Preparations in Ruſſia.

Agreeable to this ſtern declaration, which diſcovered and confirmed her Czariſh Majeſty's warlike intentions, twelve regiments of militia were drawn from the Uhraine, and numerous recruits were raiſed in all parts of her dominions, with orders to reinforce the army in Poland[1]. A large train of heavy cannon, with an immenſe quantity of ſtores, of all kinds, were embarked for Konigſberg: and every other meaſure was taken to convince the world, that ſhe would proſecute the war with vigour, and that ſhe entertained a more than ordinary pleaſure in mortifying his Pruſſian Majeſty, whenever opportunity might offer.

By the Queen of Hungary.

The Empreſs Queen took every meaſure that foreſight could dictate to render the enſuing campaign deciſive. Sileſia was the favourite object, and all her preparations indicated a reſolution to bend her chief ſtrength that way. In which her Imperial Majeſty was ſeconded by the Ruſſians and Swedes.

[1] See page 476, Vol. III.

His

His Pruſſian Majeſty was all attention. His diſpoſitions were to be made with the utmoſt prudence, both in regard to his enemies and to his own ſtrength, which ſuffered much during the winter, by ſickneſs. But that was not a misfortune peculiar to his army[k]. The Auſtrians loſt a great number of ſoldiers in the ſame manner. A circumſtance which on all ſides protracted the time for opening the campaign. His Majeſty recruited his grand army, and with it watched the motions of Count Daun. He covered the eaſtern parts of his dominions, where the Ruſſians were expected, with 40,000 troops, under his brother Henry; and he ſent a large detachment to oppoſe the Swedes. In the mean time his Pruſſian Majeſty employed himſelf in fortifying his camp, which was very ſtrong by nature, near Meiſſen; and rendered it impregnable by art; vaſt intrenchments being made; where it was acceſſible, furniſhed with ſuch a numerous artillery, that there were about 250 cannon in the front alone.

A. D. 1760.

By the King of Pruſſia.

M. Daun was much ſuperior to him in numbers: but inſtead of endeavouring to bring on a general action, he alſo fortified himſelf in a ſtrong camp near Dreſden.

M. Daun's caution.

The Swedes, this year, got the ſtart of their allies. General Manteufel, who had orders with his invalids to drive the enemy to their ſtrong holds, and to free the Pruſſian territories from

Swedes take the field.

[k] Four thouſand men died in the Auſtrian camp, in 16 days, not ſo much by the ſeverity of the weather, as for want of proviſions and other neceſſaries.

A. D. 1760. their incurſions, fell a victim to his own ſecurity. The Swedes, informed that there were two companies and a battalion of foot in the ſuburb of

Surprize the Pruſſians. Anclam, in the further Pomerania, Count Ferſen, their general, formed a deſign to ſurprize them: which he executed in the night between the 27th and 28th of January 1760. At five in the morning the Swedes attacked the troops in the ſuburb on the further ſide of the Peene, drove them into the town, and entered with them. General Manteufel, upon the firſt alarm haſtened immediately

General Manteufel taken. into the grand ſquare: but on his arriving there, he was wounded in three places, dropt, and was made priſoner, though he defended himſelf with great bravery. A major, three lieutenants and 187 rank and file, ſhared the ſame fate; beſides 13 killed on the ſpot[1]. An advantage, that might have been of more importance to the enemies of his Pruſſian Majeſty, had the Swedes found their way back without interruption, or have been able to maintain their poſt at Anclam.

Swedes defeated. But Major General Statterheim mounting his horſe with the utmoſt expedition, and taking the command of the Pruſſians, whom he rallied, drove the Swedes back with the loſs of 38 men, whom he made priſoners: amongſt whom there was a lieutenant.

Hopes of peace revived. Whether it was the want of neceſſaries, or the expectations of a peace, which began to revive in

[1] Another account make 300 priſoners, 13 killed and 12 wounded.

the

the ſpring, as appears from the ſeveral offers made to the belligerent powers of Breda, by the States-General; and of the city of Nancy by King Staniſlaus, for a place to hold a congreſs [m]; the main armies did

A. D. 1760.

[m] The States General offered the town of Breda as a proper place for holding a congreſs. To this offer General Yorke returned an anſwer, importing, "That the King his maſter "thanked their High Mightineſſes for the ſincere deſire they "expreſs to put an end to the ravages of war, which carry "deſolation all over Europe; that he readily accepted of "their gracious offer, and would be extremely pleaſed, from "his high regard and invariable friendſhip for their High "Mightineſſes, that all the other powers at war would likewiſe accept it."—To the ſame offer, the French declaration was in ſubſtance as follows: "That his moſt Chriſtian "Majeſty was highly ſenſible of the offer their High Mightineſſes had made of the town of Breda for holding the congreſs: that his Majeſty, to give a freſh proof of his ſincere deſire to increaſe the good harmony that ſubſiſted between him and their High Mightineſſes, accepted their gracious offer with pleaſure; but as he could do nothing without the conſent of his high allies, it behoved him to wait "for their anſwer, which could not fail to be favourable, if "nothing but the place for holding the congreſs remained to "be ſettled."

King Staniſlaus having alſo written a letter to the King of Great Britain, making him an offer of the city of Nancy to hold the congreſs in, his Britannic Majeſty returned him an anſwer to the following effect: "I have a due ſenſe of your "Majeſty's obliging offer of your city of Nancy, for holding a congreſs, in caſe the powers at war ſhould be inclined to put a ſtop to the effuſion of human blood. I "ſhould be extremely glad that the negociations, ſo much to "be deſired, were carried on under your Majeſty's eye; but "as the city of Nancy is not conveniently ſituated for all the "powers who are intereſted in the great work of peace, I

A. D. 1760. did not take the field till the year was greatly advanced. The miniſters of England, France and Pruſſia, at the Hague, diſpatched new propoſitions of peace to their reſpective courts, about the middle of March; and Leipſic and Breda were propoſed for a congreſs. But theſe tranſactions

"can only thank your Majeſty for the obliging offer of your "good offices, and of the city of Nancy for the ſeat of the "the negociation."

To the like offer made to the King of Pruſſia, his Majeſty wrote the following:

Monſieur mon Frere,

"With real pleaſure I have received your Majeſty's letter. Certainly I ſhould not refuſe the offer you make me of the city of Nancy, if that depended on me. All the negotiations that ſhould be carried on there under your auſpices, could not but take a favourable and happy turn; but your Majeſty, perhaps, knows by this time, that every body's ſentiments are not ſo pacific as yours.

"The courts of Vienna and Ruſſia have refuſed, in an unprecedented manner, to come into the meaſures, which the King of England and myſelf propoſed to them; and it is likely, that they will draw the King of France into the continuance of the war, the advantages of which they alone expect to reap; but, certainly they alone will be the cauſe of the effuſion of human blood conſequent on their refuſal.

"However, I ſhall not be the leſs grateful for your Majeſty's offers. If all Sovereigns were endowed with your humanity, goodneſs and juſtice, the world would not be expoſed, as it is now, to deſolation, ravages, maſſacres, and conflagrations.

"I am, with ſentiments of the higheſt eſteem, and the moſt perfect and moſt ſincere friendſhip,

Your Majeſty's

At Freyburg, Good brother,

Feb. 8. 1760. FREDERICK.

in

in the political ſtate did not prevent each party making the beſt uſe of their time in ſkirmiſhing. The Auſtrians made an attempt to ſurprize the advanced guard of the Pruſſian camp in Saxony, poſted at Graſſenhayen. This affair was committed to the care of General Beck, who made the attack on the 20th of February, and ſucceeded in the firſt onſet. The Pruſſians were ſurprized and thrown into confuſion; but they ſoon recovered themſelves, rallied and repulſed the enemy, notwithſtanding the ſuperiority of their numbers. The loſs was almoſt equal, not exceeding ſixty men killed and made priſoners on each ſide. The Pruſſian General Czeritz, who commanded the party attacked, fell from his horſe and was made priſoner, and two field pieces were loſt. Yet though this was the worſt of the affair, the Auſtrians plumed themſelves ſo much with it, that they publiſhed a pompous account, in which it is repreſented under all the circumſtances of an important victory [n].

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Skirmiſhes with the Auſtrians.

Another

[n] Thus related in the Bruſſels Gazette: "A conſiderable advantage, ſay the advices from Prague, has been gained by General Beck, over the Pruſſian General Czeritz, whoſe flying camp, of about 4000 men, formed the head of the enemy's grand camp. The former came the 20th upon the flank of General Czeritz, and attacked him with an impetuoſity which nothing could withſtand. The action was almoſt within ſight of the Pruſſian army, and was conducted ſo rapidly before ſuccours came up, that the Pruſſian corps was driven in diſorder as far as Torgau. General Beck retreated with as much prudence as the attack had been made with courage.

He

A. D. 1760. Ruſſians.

Another ſkirmiſh happened the very next day in Pruſſian Pomerania. A party of Ruſſian coſſacks, belonging to Major Settelben's corps, which had made great ravages in the eaſt parts of this country; having, for ſome time, hovered about in the neighbourhood of Starguard, advanced in the night as far as Schwedt, ſurprized the Margrave in his palace, and the Prince and Princeſs of Wurtemberg, and carried them away by force. But the Prince being very ill of his wounds, he had received at Kunnerſdorff, he could not be moved. The Prince of Bevern being informed of this affair, detached a body of horſe in queſt of

He led away 400 priſoners, with General Czeritz, and nine other officers, and all the field artillery belonging to that corps, which conſiſted of eight pieces. It is thought the number of the dead is equal to that of the wounded; but as the execution was chiefly made with the ſabre, there are a great many more wounded. Our loſs is ſo trifling, that it is ſcarcely talked of. The ſucceſs of theſe ſtratagems enhances the reputation of our arms, and has a marvellous effect on all our men that are fit to carry arms."—It may ſerve once for all to obſerve, that theſe exaggerations are never made uſe of but as props to a bad cauſe. The ſuperiority of numbers has been, during the whole campaign, greatly on the ſide of the Auſtrians; and the little advantages they have been able to gain by that ſuperiority, makes it neceſſary for them to turn the falſe end of the object glaſs to the eyes of the people in their repreſentations. His Pruſſian Majeſty has, indeed, been unfortunate in the loſs of his generals; but neither the terror of his arms, nor the glory he has acquired as a general, have received the leaſt diminution by the ſkirmiſhes that have gone againſt him. His enemies dare not attack him in the field, and the advantages gained by ſtratagem do them very little credit.

thoſe

thoſe Coſſacks, with ſuch expedition, that they came up with them near Damm, routed them, retook their booty, and carried back their priſoners in triumph. A. D. 1760.

The attempt of General Laudohn, to ſurprize the Pruſſian troops at Neuſtadt, though attended with greater loſs, did not ſatisfy the enemy's wiſhes. The account of this affair is thus related. Neuſtadt ſurpriſed.

March 25. Lieutenant-General Baron Goltze, having received intelligence of General Laudohn's aſſembling his troops, and of the enemy's cavalry and infantry having moved from behind the Oppa towards Hotzenplotz and Johaniſthal, recalled all his detachments, and began his march towards Neiſs on the 15th inſtant, with his whole force. In the mean time General Laudohn, who had ſet out from his quarters on the 14th, with Palfy's regiment of cuiraſſieurs, Lewenſtein's dragroons, 500 huſſars of Nadaſti, 500 of Kalnocki, 2000 Croats, and fourteen companies of grenadiers, marched all night, with a view to ſurpriſe the Pruſſian troops at Neuſtadt. The latter were ſcarce out of the gates, when they were ſurrounded by thoſe of the enemy. General Jacquemin was poſted with the regiment of Lewenſtein near Bechulſdorff on the road to Steinau, General Laudohn followed, with the regiment of Palfy, and 2000 croats, ſupported by fourteen companies of grenadiers; 1000 of their huſſars were upon the right flank of the Pruſſians, the advanced guard of which conſiſted of 100 men, under Captain Bleu-

A. D. 1760. Bleumenthal of the regiment of Manteuffel. Captain Zittzwitz commanded the rear guard, conſiſting of the ſame number; and the reſt of the aforeſaid regiment, with a ſquadron of dragoons of Bareith, under Captain Chambaud, followed with the baggage.

General Laudohn ſummoned the Pruſſians twice, by the ſound of trumpet, to lay down their arms; which they not complying with, he ordered all his cavalry to advance. General Jacquemin fell upon the advanced guard, while General Laudohn himſelf attacked the rear, and the huſſars, in platoons, flanked the baggage. The Captains Blumenthal and Zittzwitz formed their ſmall force in a kind of ſquare, from whence they kept a continual fire. The Auſtrian cavalry nevertheleſs advanced ſix times on a gallop, to within ten paces of the Pruſſians; but perceiving many fall on their ſide, among whom were ſeveral officers, they retreated in great diſorder. Afterwards the croats having taken poſſeſſion of a wood, between Siebenhauſen and Steinau, through which the roads were very bad, and by the rains rendered almoſt impaſſable for carriages, they there attacked the Pruſſians on all ſides. Unfortunately a waggon broke down in a defile, and as the Pruſſians did not think proper to ſtay to repair it, they were obliged to abandon all that was behind it. By which five covered waggons, laden with baggage, and eighteen carts with meal and oats, fell into the hands of the enemy, who harraſſed the Pruſſians,

Pruſſians as far as Steinau, and were conſtantly engaged with the rear guard. A. D. 1760.

The loſs of the Auſtrians however greatly exceeded the Pruſſians; they buried above 300 men in different places, and ſent 500 wounded to Neuſtadt. Beſides which, the Pruſſians took twenty-five priſoners, among whom were ſeveral officers. They had thirty-five men killed, and four officers, and ſixty-nine private men wounded, in Manteuffel's regiment; as alſo one lieutenant, with three dragoons, in Bareith's. The enemy made a ſubaltern officer, two drummers, and thirty-ſix private men priſoners; ſo that the loſs of the Pruſſians, in the whole, including the miſſing, amounts to about 170 men; which was not much, conſidering the great ſuperiority of the enemy. Loſs on both ſides.

And though General Laudohn ſo far ſucceeded by this accident, as to make himſelf maſter of Neuſtadt, he found himſelf in no condition [o] to maintain his ground; but on the 17th, at break of day, he abandoned his acquiſition, and retreated to Jagernſdorff, with fourteen companies of grenadiers, having ordered the Auſtrian cavalry [p] to march to Freywalda.

The army of the Empire began to ſtir. General Luckinſki, with a conſiderable body of troops from the Imperial army, and a train of fifteen pieces of cannon, marched in the night between Motions of the Imperialiſts.

[o] Having loſt 28 officers, and 1000 men killed and dangerouſly wounded.

[p] Lowenſtein's regiment ſuffered greatly.

A. D. 1760.

the 16th and 17th of April, towards the village of Zeitz, and attacked two ſquadrons of the regiment of carabineers. He took eight officers and about 100 troopers. But being purſued by a Pruſſian detachment, under General Solomon, the Imperialiſts were obliged to quit their priſoners.

King of Pruſſia changes his camp, and collects his forces.

The King of Pruſſia reſolved to take the field; collected all his troops from that chain of their cantonment, in the neighbourhood of Wildruff, extending from the foreſt of Tharandt, on the right of the Elbe. This was done without loſs. Then he fixed his head-quarters at Schlettau, a very ſmall village, about half a league from Meiſſen; and ordered the troops at Freyberg to begin their march at three o'clock in the afternoon, of the 23d of April, and to encamp at Meiſſen, where his Majeſty encamped with his grand army, in a moſt advantageous ſituation, between the Elbe and the Multa. Where nature did not ſecure this camp, it was made inacceſſible by deep intrenchments, fortified with 250 pieces of heavy cannon. As ſoon as his Pruſſian Majeſty had got poſſeſſion of this camp he detached 10,000 men, to join his brother Prince Henry, who was aſſembling an army near Franckfort upon the Oder, to oppoſe the Ruſſians: and was in a condition to reinforce his other armies, if need required.

On the other ſide, the Auſtrians, though M. Daun kept in his ſtrong camp, to watch the motions of the King, prepared in earneſt for taking the field. General Laudhon was ordered to occupy the paſſes of Wartha and Silverberg. Which ſervice

General Laudhon occupies

vice he performed effectually by a feint march againſt Landſhut, which diverted the attention of the Pruſſians from his real deſign; who otherwiſe would have thought thoſe paſſes deſerving of their defence. For by this means the Auſtrian General left Neiſs in his rear, Glatz on his right flank, and Schweidnitz in his front, where General Fouquet was blockaded, and Sprotau, where Prince Henry had his head-quarters, about fourteen German miles from Schweidnitz. Laudhon, after gaining this advantageous ſituation, endeavoured to improve his ſcheme; and being informed that General Fouquet, at Landſhut, had weakened his poſt by detachments under the Major-Generals Ziethen and Grant, and imagining this to be an immediate opportunity to wipe off the diſhonour, he, a few days before, had ſuffered by a repulſe with great loſs, in an aſſault, which he had ventured to make upon Glatz, in the night between the 17th and 18th of June, formed a reſolution to attack Landſhut, where Major Fouquet commanded. Accordingly leaving a ſmall number of troops before Glatz, Laudhon marched on this expedition with an army of near 50,000 men. Fouquet, it is certain, was by no means in a condition to reſiſt ſuch a ſtrength; but deſirous of maintaining the poſt at Landſhut, from whence he had juſt diſlodged the Generals Geiſrugg and Jahnus, took all meaſures immediately for making a good defence; but having detached Major-General Ziethen, with four battalions and two ſquadrons, towards Frawenſtein, in order to preſerve

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the paſſes of Wartha and Silverberg.

Surprizes General Fouquet.

A. D. 1760. ſerve a communication with Schweidnitz, as well as Major-General Grant, on the other ſide, with ſome cavalry; there were but few generals left with him, and only part of his corps, of which the whole was in itſelf but too weak.

On the 23d, at two o'clock in the morning, General Laudohn, with all his forces, attacked all the redoubts which General Fouquet occupied near Landſhut, and carried three of them, viz. thoſe on the heights of Mummel, Beuch, and Blaſſdorf, after a very vigorous defence on the part of the five battalions that guarded them. Amongſt others, one of Moſel's battalions diſtinguiſhed itſelf extremely on this occaſion.

General Fouquet, having thrown himſelf into the two redoubts, which he had ſtill in his poſſeſſion, upon the heights of Kirchberg and Galgenberg, was twice ſummoned, on the part of General Laudohn, to ſurrender with his people; which he refuſed complying with: in conſequence whereof he was attacked with great fury by the enemy; who by their ſuperior force penetrated at laſt into the redoubts, which had been defended till ſix o'clock. General Fouquet fell there into the hands of the enemy, after having received two wounds: but part of his infantry, and almoſt all the cavalry, made their way, and got to Breſlau.

Major-General Ziethen likewiſe, upon the approach of the enemy, threw himſelf into Schweidnitz, with his four battalions and two ſquadrons, without the loſs of a ſingle man. This affair, however

however unfortunate, did great honour to General Fouquet, for having defended his poſt with the utmoſt bravery, though he had but a handful of men, oppoſed to an army, which, as the enemy themſelves declared, conſiſted of 50,000, and did not yield till after having occaſioned as great a loſs, as they would have ſuffered by a defeat in a pitched battle. The Auſtrians themſelves allow, they had near 6000 men killed in the affair, and almoſt double that number wounded; which is the more credible, as Marſhal Daun found himſelf was obliged to detach five regiments of infantry and two of cavalry from his own army towards the county of Glatz, upon the news of this action. A. D. 1760. Loſs on both ſides.

The loſs ſuſtained by the Pruſſians does not appear any otherwiſe, than by the accounts publiſhed at Breſlau; which ſay, that no more than about 3000 men eſcaped. But even then, they ſold their lives at ſo dear a rate, that the conquerors loſt more men killed, than the conquered.

General Laudohn, without delay reſumed his attempt upon Glatz; and on the 26th, at five in the morning, his batteries on the left, and under the direction of Colonel Rouvroy, began a very briſk fire; that part which was under Colonel Alsfon played, an hour after, on the old fortreſs, and the Fleche at the left of the attack, was abandoned by the enemy. Immediately M. de Bechard, major of the corps of Sappers, the grenadiers of Simbſcon, and thoſe of Preyſack, took poſſeſſion of it, by order of General Laudohn, who was preſent. Glatz beſieged.

A. D. 1760. General Draſkowitz then marched a battalion to ſuſtain M. de Bechard, who was aſſiſted by M. de Rouvroy. All the efforts made by the enemy to regain this Fleche, add nothing to their glory. They were driven back to the covered way, and even to the outer poſt of the principal works. The deſertion was ſo great on the ſide of the Pruſſians, that whole companies came over to the beſiegers. In a ſhort time the whole garriſon laid down their arms. The Auſtrians entered the old fortreſs ſword in hand. The new one ſurrendered at diſcretion.

Surrenders.

The whole action continued only from half an hour after ſix in the morning till eleven in the forenoon.

The magazine in Glatz was immenſe. It contained 101 braſs cannon, 220 grenadoes, 11000 cartouches, a number of mortars, and other ammunition.

King of Pruſſia's march to Dreſden.

His Pruſſian Majeſty could not poſſibly guard againſt theſe incidents. His attention was fixed upon Dreſden, for the firſt object of his operations. But he could not in prudence march thither with M. Daun cloſe at his heels. So that an expedient muſt be found to get clear of ſo troubleſome a guard upon all his actions. For this purpoſe, his Majeſty decamped and marched his army in two columns through Luſatia, in the beginning of July; which carried ſuch an appearance of his intention to penetrate into Sileſia, that, M. Daun leaving Saxony in the care of the Imperialiſts and a body of Auſtrians, under Count Laſcy, he marched into Sileſia with his whole army, and with the

utmoſt expedition. This was the very thing the King wiſhed for, and intended to bring about. So that as ſoon as his Majeſty was duly informed of Daun's removal at a diſtance from him, he cut ſhort his rout, and directed his march to attack the forces under General Laſcy, near Lichtenberg: but they had retired at his approach. He then made the beſt of his way to Dreſden, and encamped between that city and Pirna[q].

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Deceives M. Daun.

His

[q] From the King of Pruſſia's head quarters at Grunau, near Dreſden, July 11.

On the 2d inſtant, the army marched in two columns, through a very woody country, with very little interruption from the enemy, who might have rendered our march extremely difficult, perhaps impracticable, if they had had notice of the King's deſigns, and had placed their troops properly to intercept us. On the afternoon of the ſame day we paſſed the river Pulſnitz, on the bridge at Cracau, and encamped upon the heights near that town.

On the 4th, his Majeſty, at the head of the van-guard, marched to Koningſbruck, repaſſed the Pulſnitz, and continued on towards Lichtenberg, with an intent to attack General Laſcy's corps ſtationed there: but that general, having notice, from his out-poſts, of his Majeſty's approach, thought proper to retire.

On the 5th, the army marched, in the morning, in three columns, to Marionſtern.

And, on the 6th, (advice having been received that Marſhal Daun had quitted his ſtrong camp at Reichenberg, and was marched from thence to Bautzen, and proceeding towards Gorlitz) our army was ordered to paſs the river Sprehe, near Groſs-Dobrau; and from thence we occupied the camp at Doberſchutz, about half a German mile from Bautzen.

On the 8th, intelligence having been given of Marſhal Daun's actual arrival at Gorlitz, and of his continuing his march to Lauban, (by which means the marſhal had gained two marches upon the King) orders were given for ſtriking

A. D. 1760.

Summons's Dreſden.

His Majeſty without loſs of time prepared for an attack. He ſummoned the governor to ſurrender: but the ſtate of the fortifications and garriſon was much better conditioned than at the time the Auſtrians miſcarried before it: and its defence was now entruſted to General Macguire, whoſe military experience and bravery had recommended him to that important ſervice. The governor returned for anſwer, That he was reſolved to defend that capital to the laſt extremity. The Pruſſian batteries began to play that ſame night, between

Governor's anſwer.

our tents at eight o'clock at night, and we repaſſed the Sprehe near Bautzen; and

On the 9th marched by Biſchoffswerda to Harta, where the head quarters were fixed.

On the 10th his Majeſty ſent a ſtrong detachment under General Zeithen to Marſdorff near Reichenberg, and marched himſelf with the reſt of the army to Weiſſig: whereupon General Laſcy, who was encamped at Weiſſe-Hirſch, quitted that poſt, croſſed the Elbe on the ſtone bridge of Dreſden, and encamped on the plain between Pirna and that town. The army of the Empire, under the Duke of Deux Ponts, was encamped upon the heights behind Plauen.

On the 12th the army marched in two columns, and took poſſeſſion of the ſtrong camp at Reichenberg, where General Zeithen joined us: General Hulſen, with his corps from Meiſſen, appeared in the afternoon on the oppoſite ſide of the river. A bridge of boats was thrown over the Elbe at Kaditz; and the Prince of Holſtein, and General Bulow, were left with a ſtrong detachment to keep poſſeſſion of the poſt of Weiſſe-Hirſch.

The army marched on the 13th to Kaditz; and his Majeſty croſſed the river, and ordered the army to follow as expeditiouſly as poſſible: and that day the head quarters were fixed at Grunau, behind the great garden, from whence the Auſtrian pandours had been diſlodged; and the army encamped in two lines one towards Pirna, and the other towards Dreſden.

the

the 13th and 14th of July, from both ſides of the Elbe. This firing continued for ſome days. But neither the vigour, with which his Pruſſian Majeſty continued his operations; nor the poſſeſſion of the ſuburbs towards the Pirna gate, which the Pruſſians carried after a vigorous attack; nor the moving arguments of the miſerably diſtreſſed citizens, who petitioned the governor to conſent to a capitulation, could prevail with General Macguire to liſten to any terms of a ſurrender. The town was not only in a better poſture of defence; but he derived great expectations from the vicinity of the Imperial army, and Laſcy's body, encamped near Groſs Seydlitz, to which place they had removed on this occaſion; and from the vigilance of Count Daun, who, he was fully ſatisfied would not fail to march to his relief, as ſoon as informed of his ſituation: though every ſally made from the city was repulſed, and his Pruſſian Majeſty daily gained ſome advantage, and was preparing to batter in breach. Count Daun did not fruſtrate the governors expectations. When he diſcovered the deception, and that he had been duped by the march of his Pruſſian Majeſty, and was made acquainted with the danger, to which Dreſden was expoſed, the Auſtrian General wheeled about, and marched with ſuch rapidity, that his grand army reached the ſeat of action, in the neighbourhood of Dreſden, on the 19th day; and he found an opportunity to throw 16 battalions into the town.

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Reſolute defence.

M. Daun marches to its relief.

It is very evident, that the proximity of thoſe armies behind him preſently obliged his Pruſſian

Siege raiſed.

A. D. 1760. Majeſty to reſolve to raiſe the ſiege: but, he firſt wrecked his vengeance; and played his heavy artillery in ſuch a manner, as to reduce the moſt ſplendid and valuable parts and buildings of the city to aſhes; amongſt which were the cathedral church and the Porcelaine manufactory, without affecting either the fortifications or the Auſtrian garriſon.

Damages done.

Having withdrawn his troops and artillery from before Dreſden, the Pruſſian Monarch practiſed every art, to bring Count Daun to a battle: which that cautious general as judiciouſly avoided: and a dilatory ſuſpenſion of action in his preſent ſituation plunged him deeper into danger. This determined the King's reſolution to march into Sileſia, where his affairs bore a moſt ruinous proſpect. For if the Ruſſians, who were in full march to join the Auſtrians under General Laudohn, ſhould effect their deſign, it would not be poſſible for his brother Henry to maintain his ground; and not only Schweidnitz and Nieſs, but the whole county of Sileſia, the chief object of the war between him and the Empreſs Queen, muſt be abandoned to the mercy of the enemy. Of which there was the greateſt probability, unleſs Prince Henry could be timely ſupported with a ſufficient force to prevent the junction of the Auſtrians and Ruſſians. For, Laudohn, encouraged by his ſucceſs at Landſhut and Glatz, already mentioned, had undertaken the ſiege of Breſlau, and made ſuch other diſpoſitions, as diſcovered his intentions againſt Schweidnitz and Neiſs: Prince Henry being at ſo great a diſtance from Breſlau, as to be ſuppoſed unable to march

Reſolves to ſupport Sileſia.

General Laudohn beſieges Breſlau.

to

to its relief. The Auſtrians arrived before this capital on the 30th of July; and on the firſt of Auguſt, the Pruſſian commandant having anſwered his ſummons with a reſolution to defend the city to the laſt extremity, General Laudohn, without waiting for his heavy artillery, began a moſt ſevere bombardment, which deſtroyed the fineſt ſtreets and buildings in the city; amongſt which was the King of Pruſſia's palace. A. D. 1760. Bombarded.

Prince Henry, who had his camp at Gleiſſen, watching the motions of Marſhal Soltikoff, at the head of a numerous army of Ruſſians, marching with an appearance of joining the army under General Laudohn, fully convinced of the neceſſity to prevent their junction, and that this ſervice could not be expected from the army under his Pruſſian Majeſty, employed in Saxony, reſolved to march to Glogau, and began his march on the 27th of July [r]. Here he received the firſt advice Motions of Prince Henry. Raiſes the ſiege of Breſlau.

[r] *Extract of a journal of what paſſed in the army of his Royal Highneſs Prince Henry, from the 27th of July.*

On the repeated accounts, received from all quarters, that the Ruſſians were to march to Breſlau, Prince Henry reſolved to go and meet them, and prevent their executing that deſign. For this purpoſe his Royal Highneſs marched, in the afternoon of the 27th of July, from Gleiſſen to Strapel, and, on the 28th, aſſembled his whole army at Rietſchutz. He marched the 29th to Pudligar, where he was obliged to halt the army the 30th, on account of the want of forage in this country, that is totally exhauſted. On the 31ſt we went to Linden, near Slawe, where, having learnt that it was only Tottleben's corps that had advanced and paſſed through the plains of Polniſch-Liſſa, and that the grand army of the Ruſſians had marched through Koſten and Guſtin, which made it impoſſible for us to follow them, the Prince reſolved to march to Glogau.

A. D. 1760. of the ſiege of Breſlau; and though he had taken this poſt to oppoſe the Ruſſians in their march, the Pruſſian General inſtantly determined to make forced marches, for its relief; and not without hopes of ſeizing an opportunity to defeat and diſperſe Laudohn's army. The execution of this reſolution was as rapid, as the meaſure was prudent. On the 3d of Auguſt his Royal Highneſs arrived at Parchwitz [s], a poſt occupied by 2000 Auſtrians, who retired by Leubus, on the other ſide of the Oder, and burnt the bridge at Prince Henry's approach. General Caramelli, having repaſſed the Oder near Breſlau, to rejoin General Laudohn near Canth, fell into the hands of General Werner, who, on this occaſion, deſtroyed the regiment of dragoons of the archduke Joſeph, cut to pieces a conſiderable part of it, and took ſeven officers and 370 men priſoners. They that eſcaped gave the alarm to Laudohn, who immediately raiſed the ſiege of Breſlau, and retreated with great precipitation to Canth. On the 5th the Pruſſians arrived at Liſſa, and next day croſſed the Elbe at Breſlau, having marched twenty-five German miles in five days.

Laudhon's loſs. General Laudohn could not retreat with that ſafety, as to prevent any loſs. Prince Henry detached ſeveral parties to harraſs his army, and they brought in ſeveral hundreds of Auſtrians, with a major-general, priſoners. Neither could any thing but the expedition uſed by the Prince in this march have ſaved Breſlau; and, with it, all Sileſia muſt have fallen a prey to the enemy.

[s] A camp ſtrongly fortified, and deſigned for the Ruſſians.

For,

For, the Ruſſians, on the ſixth, had advanced within five miles of this capital; but were obliged to retreat, by the wiſe and vigorous conduct of Prince Henry; who, by occupying the heights, and his admirable motions, as you will find below, defeated not only the Auſtrians but the Ruſſian attempt upon Breſlau; and with an army greatly inferior in numbers, prevented the junction of Soltikoff and Laudohn; and obliged the latter to retreat towards Schweidnitz. On the 6th, Prince Henry paſſed the Oder, with a body of troops, at Breſlau, and put this detachment under the command of General Plathen, who was obliged to poſt himſelf behind the Old Oder, in order to cover the town. The prince received advice, by a detachment, which had been ſent to Hunsfeld, that the Ruſſians were ſtrong there. All accounts, however, mentioned, that the army of the enemy was ſtill five miles diſtant from Breſlau. This made his Royal Highneſs think, that it was only General Tottleben's corps; and he gave orders to Colonel Thadden to occupy, that afternoon, the height of Freywald, from whence the enemy might, by poſting themſelves there, poſſeſs themſelves of another height, at a ſmall diſtance, from whence they might eaſily bombard Breſlau. Colonel Thadden carried the height of Freywald, and there diſcovered the whole Ruſſian army encamped behind Hunsfeld. The colonel raiſed a redoubt on the height, which, though occupied only by one battalion, kept in awe the whole army of the enemy. The Ruſſians threw royal grenades

A. D. 1760.

Pruſſians advanced to the neighbourhood of Breſlau.

A. D. 1760. nades at it, all the afternoon of the 7th, without any effect.

General Laudohn being ſtill encamped at Canth, Prince Henry's army remained likewiſe between Grubſchen and Mochbern, in order to cover Breſlau from his attempts upon it. The Ruſſian army decamped from Hunsfeld on the 9th, and marched towards Schebitz and Kuntzendorff. General Platen, and Colonel Thadden, harraſſed the enemy's rear guard; and in order to ſupport the corps under them, his Royal Highneſs directed bridges to be thrown at Oſwitz, and ſent ſome battalions likewiſe under General Goltz, for the ſame purpoſe.

General Platen's corps encamped at Protſch. As the King was then upon his march, Prince Henry thought, that by remaining with his army on the left ſide of the Oder, he might keep the Auſtrians in ſome awe; but perceiving, by ſeveral motions which the Ruſſians made, that General Platen's camp would by that means be expoſed, his Royal Highneſs took the reſolution of paſſing the river, and encamping at Hunern; which was accordingly done on the 12th. The enemy probably thought that he meant to attack them, which occaſioned their ſetting fire to four villages, through which they thought the Prince's army would advance; and the Coſſacks, ſupported by ſome infantry and artillery, attacked ſeveral times his advanced troops, but without effect.

Arrival of the King's army.

In this criſis, where there ſeemed nothing wanting but courage and conduct in the enemies of Pruſſia,

Pruſſia, to cruſh the Pruſſian power in Sileſia; and which perhaps might have been collected, after ſome time for conſultation; the King of Pruſſia, with an amazing rapidity, in defiance of all obſtructions, which he had reaſon to expect in his march through Luſatia, in the hands of the enemy; paſſing between two armies, one commanded by General Reid, the other by General Laſcy, and with a third army under General Beck in his front, and with the grand Auſtrian army in his rear, continually ſending out parties to diſtreſs him; marched 200 miles in five days, and arrived without loſs at Bautzlau on the 7th of Auguſt; though he was encumbered with 2000 waggons and upwards, and paſſed the Elbe, the Spree, the Neiſs, the Queiſs and the Bober. A piece of generalſhip that cannot be too much admired, eſpecially as M. Daun, with a ſuperior army, had no other buſineſs but to watch the King of Pruſſia's motions, and to prevent his penetrating into Sileſia.

A D. 1760.

Surprizing march.

The King halted till the 9th, to reſt his troops; and marched to Hohendorff, where he encamped; where his Majeſty found that M. Laudohn had occupied the heights of Prauſnitz before his arrival, and that the march of the enemy was covered by General Beck, from his poſt at Wolffsberg. On the 10th the King took poſſeſſion of the camp of Lignitz, and the Auſtrian armies, which had followed him, occupied all the ground between Partchwitz and Coſſendau. M. Daun forming the center with his army, and occupying the heights of Wahlſtadt, and Hochkirk; M. Laudohn, covering the ground between Jeſchkendorff

Encamps at Lignitz.

Situation of the Auſtrians.

A. D. 1760. kendorff and Coſchitz. General Wanhendorff poſſeſſing the heights of Parchwitz: and General Beck, who formed the left, extending his troops beyond Coſſendau. This advantageous poſition of the enemy prevented the King's paſſing the Katzbach and the Scartwaſſer, as intended: ſo that his army marched in the night of the 11th to turn the enemy, and to reach Jauer. At break of day the columns were all ready near the village of Hohendorff, from whence a new camp at Prauſnitz was diſcovered; and advice was received by ſome priſoners, that it was M. de Laſcy's corps, which was juſt arrived from Lauban. The army immediately paſſed the Katzbach to attack him. M. de Laſcy made his diſpoſitions with ſo much ſkill, and knew ſo well how to avail himſelf of the advantages that the ground gave him, that he retreated to Marſhal Daun, without the Pruſſians being able to attack him with any proſpect of ſucceſs. He filed off by the low grounds, and poſted himſelf upon the heights of Hennerſdorff, which covered Jauer, before the King's army, which was ſtopt by the defiles, could get thither. Both armies encamped; the King's at Schichau, and that of the enemy's at Hermſdorff and Schlaup. The next day attempts were made again for turning the enemy, on the ſide of the mountains, by paſſing at Pomſen and Jagerſdorff. The roads might have been practicable for the army; but they being ſo ſteep, the ammunition waggons could not be brought on; and therefore the attempt was laid aſide. On the 13th the Pruſ-

ſians

ſians went back to their camp at Lignitz, and Marſhal Daun, with the Generals Laudohn, Laſcy and Beck, came to occupy his former poſition behind the Katzbach. There the King heard that the Ruſſians had laid a bridge at Auras, and that Count Czernichew was to paſs it that ſame day, with 24,000 men. It was ſuſpected beſides, that the enemy had ſome deſign upon him. Troops, which have for a long time been oppoſed to each other, can reciprocally gueſs at each other's deſigns; the method, uſed by the enemy's generals, grows familiar; and the leaſt motion they make, diſcloſes their deſigns. A. D. 1760.

King of Pruſſia's critical ſituation.

So that his Pruſſian Majeſty was preſently convinced of the danger he was expoſed unto, ſhould he wait in his camp for the approach of the enemy. He foreſaw, that it was concerted by the Auſtrian general to attack him in three places at once: that General Laſcy was to advance on his right: M. Daun to attack him in front: and General Laudohn to fall upon his left; and at the ſame time to poſſeſs himſelf of the heights of Plaffendorf. Theſe were the motives for the march, which the King made on the 14th, to put his army in order of battle on the aforeſaid heights; which changed the ſcene of operations, and much diſconcerted the diſpoſitions, the enemy had made from the nature of the ground. Scarce had the Pruſſians taken this new poſition, when they were informed, about two o'clock in the morning, that M. de Laudohn was in full march, and that his columns were advanced by Bennowitz: whereupon

A. D. 1760. the Pruſſian army ſeparated into two bodies; their right remained upon the ground where it had been formed, to obſerve Marſhal Daun, and to prevent him from advancing from Schwartzwaſſer, and through Lignitz; and ſixteen battalions and thirty ſquadrons turned about, in order to fall upon the corps under Laudohn.

The Auſtrian's plan for a battle. The Auſtrian plan was to advance by thoſe heights, where the Pruſſian army was now drawn up in order of battle, and where it was expected to meet only with ſome weak detachments, that might be ſurrounded or eaſily driven off. Under this preſumption the Auſtrian advanced parties, about three o'clock in the morning of the 15th of Auguſt, attacked thoſe of the Pruſſians, who gave way. This confirmed the opinion entertained of their weakneſs on the heights, and encouraged Laudohn to accelerate the movement of his main body, to puſh his ſucceſs, not expecting any oppoſition in the attempt to make himſelf maſter of that important poſt. But, as the day-light came on, the Auſtrian general was ſoon convinced of his miſtake, and with great ſurprize ſaw the whole Pruſſian army drawn up in order of battle, and prepared to receive him in moſt excellent order. Nevertheleſs he was now ſo far engaged, that there could be no hopes of avoiding a battle. He could not retreat, and as it becomes a brave general in ſuch a ſituation, he deſpiſed danger, and reſolved to ſtand his ground, and to leave the iſſue to the valour of his troops and to fortune. He had juſt time to form, when the

Diſappointed.

Obliged to fight to great diſadvantage.

the Pruſſians began the attack with ſuch vigour, and ſo well conducted, that, notwithſtanding the Auſtrians did all in their power, they were forced to give way, and were driven back as far almoſt as Katzbach, maintaining a running fight, all the way; which occaſioned a prodigious ſlaughter. His Pruſſian Majeſty, expecting that M. Daun would endeavour to advance with his army from Lignitz, to attack his right, which was not in a condition to maintain their ground without further aſſiſtance, ſhould he ſucceed in the attempt, did not think it adviſeable, any more, to tempt fortune by puſhing Laudhon's army more vigorouſly; and kept a ſituation, from whence his victorious troops might be able to ſuccour his right in caſe of need. But, though M. Daun did make the attempt ſeveral times, the diſadvantage of the ground, and the fire of the Pruſſian battalions, to which his columns were expoſed, defeated all his ſkill and vigour.

A. D. 1760.

Their bravery.

Defeated.

M. Daun repulſed.

The battle thus fought laſted but two hours: and his Pruſſian Majeſty gained a complete victory; which may be attributed chiefly to his great abilities, more than to the ſtrength of his army; and may be ſaid to retrieve his affairs in Sileſia, with a very inconſiderable loſs on the part of the victorious Pruſſians[t]. For, if he could not oblige

A complete victory gained by the King of Pruſſia.

[t] The number of Pruſſian officers killed and wounded in the ſaid action, was, of the infantry eight, of the cavalry four, total twelve killed; of the infantry fifty-five, of the cavalry nineteen, total ſeventy-four wounded.

We

A. D. 1760. lige the confederate Auſtrians and Ruſſians to evacuate that province, he prevented the much laboured junction of Prince Soltikoff and General Laudohn, and fruſtrated their deſigns upon Breſlau and Schweidnitz [u].

In

We ſhall add the Auſtrian account of their loſs in this battle, as it was publiſhed by authority at Vienna, which was as follows:

"Infantry: killed 1322, wounded 2022, priſoners 112, miſſing 2033. Cavalry: killed, 52 men, and 141 horſes; wounded 258 men, and 179 horſes; miſſing, 100 men, and 72 horſes. Artillery: killed, 40 men, and 30 horſes; wounded, 90 men, and 54 horſes; miſſing, ſeven men. Total of our loſs, 6043 men, and 476 horſes. We alſo loſt, on this occaſion, 68 pieces of cannon, namely 45 three-pounders, 13 ſix-pounders, and 10 twelve-pounders."

[u] *A letter, ſaid to be written by the King of Pruſſia to the Marquis d'Argens, from his Majeſty's head-quarters at Hamdorff, near Breſlau, Auguſt* 27, 1760, *was intercepted by the Ruſſians; and the following is the tranſlation of it.*

"At any other time, my dear Marquis, the affair of the 15th would have decided the campaign: at preſent that action is no more than a ſcratch. A general engagement muſt determine our fate. It will ſoon happen, according to appearances; and then we may enjoy ourſelves, if the iſſue of it be favourable. Mean while, I thank you for the ſincere part you take in the late advantage gained. Many wiles, and much addreſs, were required to bring on that action. Don't mention dangers; the late affair coſt me only a coat and a horſe. This was buying victory cheap.

I never received the other letter you ſpeak of. We are in a manner blocked up, as to our correſpondence, by the Ruſſians on one ſide of the Oder, and by the Auſtrians on the other. A ſmall combat was neceſſary to clear the way for the ſtage-coach, which I hope hath delivered you my letter.

I never

In this action the enemy loſt upwards of 10,000 men: two of their generals, 80 officers, and more

A. D. 1760.

I never was in ſuch an ugly ſituation as I am in this campaign. Believe me, nothing but a miracle can enable us to ſurmount all the difficulties which I foreſee. I ſhall certainly do my duty in the action. But, my dear Marquis, always remember that I do not deſpair of fortune, and that in my plans I am obliged to leave too much to chance, for want of means to form more ſolid projects. I have the labours of a Hercules to undergo, at an age when my ſtrength leaves me—when my infirmities increaſe, and when, to tell you the truth, hope, the ſole conſolation of the wretched, begins to fail me.

You are not ſufficiently acquainted with affairs, to form a clear idea of all the dangers that threaten the ſtate. I know them, and conceal them. I keep all my fears to myſelf, and communicate to the public only my hopes, and the few pieces of good news I can tell them. If the blow I propoſe to give ſhould ſucceed, it will then be ſoon enough, my dear Marquis, to manifeſt our joy. Till then do not let us flatter ourſelves, leſt a piece of bad news ſhould ſink our ſpirits too much. I lead here the life of a military monk. I have many things to think of. The reſt of my time I devote to letters, which are my conſolation, as they were that of the antient conſuls, dictators, &c. I don't know whether I ſhall ſurvive this war; but, if I ſhould, I am fully reſolved to paſs the reſt of my days in retirement, in the boſom of philoſophy and friendſhip.

As ſoon as the correſpondence is more free, you will do me a pleaſure by writing oftener. I know not where we ſhall have our quarters this winter. My houſe at Breſlau was deſtroyed in the late bombardment. Our enemies envy us even day-light and free air: they muſt, however, leave us ſome place; and, if it be ſafe, I ſhall rejoice to ſee you.

Pray, Marquis, what will become of the peace between France and England? *You ſee that your nation is blinder than you imagined. Thoſe fools loſt Canada and Pondicherry to pleaſe*

A. D. 1760.

more than 5000 men priſoners. Eighty-two pieces of cannon, and twenty-three pair of colours were taken from them. The enemy loſt about 2000 men upon the ſpot, without reckoning the wounded; but their loſs by deſertion was equal to that in the field [w]. The King marched, immediately after the action, to Parchwitz, where he paſſed the defile, that had been ſo well diſputed; and Marſhal Daun, the ſame time detached Prince Lowenſtein with the reſerve, and M. de Beck, to join Count Zernichew. The King begun his march on the 16th for Neumarck. The Ruſſians repaſſed the Oder at Auras, and Prince Lowenſtein retired on the ſide of Jaur.

General Hulſen's eſcape and brave conduct at Strehla.

This advantage was followed by the eſcape of General Hulſen's army, from the toils laid for him by the combined army of Imperialiſts and

the Queen of Hungary and the Czarina. Heaven grant that Prince Ferdinand may pay them well for their zeal! The innocent officers, and the poor ſoldiers, are the chief ſufferers by theſe things: the perſons who alone are culpable feel nothing of them.—Theſe are matters that happened to occur to me. I am in the train of writing; but I ſee I muſt make an end, that I may not tire you, or neglect my own buſineſs. Adieu, dear Marquis,

Yours ſincerely, &c."

[w] The number of Auſtrian generals, and other officers, taken priſoners in the battle of the 15th, near Lignitz, is as follows: two major-generals, three colonels, one lieutenant-colonel, three majors, nineteen captains, eighteen firſt lieutenants, twenty ſecond lieutenants, eighteen enſigns and adjutants, one lieutenant quarter-maſter, one fourier to the ſtaff; total eighty-ſix.

Auſtrians;

Auſtrians; after the King's departure for Saxony with the grand army. The deſign was to cut off his communication with Torgau. This obliged him to quit his camp at Meiſſen on the 17th, and to march to Strehla; which he effected without any loſs. The enemy divided themſelves into two bodies; and on the 20th, at day-break, appeared on the right flank of General Hulſen. One of them attacked an advanced poſt of four battalions of grenadiers, on a height about the diſtance of a cannon-ſhot from the Ruſſian camp. This attack continued, with the greateſt fury, till ſix in the morning. The other was ſo diſpoſed as to over-awe, and prevent the main body of Hulſen's army taking any meaſures for the relief of that poſt. However, theſe battalions maintained their ground with great courage and obſtinacy, againſt a great ſuperiority of numbers: and repulſed the enemy at every onſet: but, as their fate might be hazardous, General Hulſen ordered his cavalry to wheel round a riſing ground, and to charge the enemy in flank. By this piece of generalſhip, and by the vigour, with which it was executed, the enemy's horſe and battalions were driven into great confuſion, a conſiderable number of them were ſlain, and forty-one officers [x] and 1214 men were made priſoners [y]. The action ended by ſeven in the morning, with the loſs of A. D. 1760.

[x] Amongſt whom was a Prince of Naſſau Uſingen.

[y] And one piece of cannon, two pair of colours and two ſtandards.

A. D. 1760. no more than nine officers, and 500 private men, on the part of the Pruſſians.

But as the enemy were advancing their whole force to the above-mentioned poſt, which the Pruſſians could not maintain, without being cut off from the Elbe, General Hulſen withdrew the four battalions, and placed them on the right flank of his main body, which, during the whole time, had remained in the ſame poſition. The news of the Duke of Wirtemberg's approach, had already determined General Hulſen to take poſſeſſion of the camp at Torgau. Accordingly the main body of the army marched, at one in the afternoon, in ſight of the enemy, and arrived ſafe there, without loſing one man; the enemy not daring to make any attempt on them. Thus, by the ſkilful diſpoſitions made by General Hulſen, the cavalry alone, with a few battalions, not only repulſed the whole force of an enemy, ſo much ſuperior in number, but gave them a ſevere blow.

Remarks. We have here diſplayed the triumphant arms of his Pruſſian Majeſty. But theſe advantages were not ſo definitive, as to deprive his enemies of either the means or opportunity to continue the war, to keep the field, and to penetrate into the very heart of his dominions. It is true the Ruſſians were prevented from joining the Auſtrians, as intended in the confederate plan of operations; and M. Daun, after the battle of Lignitz, was driven to ſeek a place of ſafety amongſt the mountains of Sileſia. But the Ruſſians in Pomerania, animated with the arrival of their fleet off Colberg, to aſſiſt them

in

in the reduction of that ſea-port, laid ſiege to that town in the beginning of September. The town was blocked up by ſea, and a vaſt army ſat down before it by land. However, this attempt proved no more ſucceſsful than their former on Colberg. General Werner was detached with 6000 men from the Pruſſian camp, under the command of General Goltze, near Glogau, to raiſe the ſiege or to relieve the garriſon. Theſe troops ſet off for their march on the 7th of September, and on the 18th arrived before the place of their deſtination; having marched 250 miles in eleven days: which ſtruck the Ruſſians with ſuch a pannic, who thought themſelves entirely out of the reach of any part of the Pruſſian forces, that they not only raiſed the ſiege, but retreated in ſo great a hurry, that they abandoned their tents, cannon, ammunition, forage, baggage and even their proviſions to the Pruſſians, whom their fears had magnified to an infinite many more, than they really were, or could be ſpared for that ſervice.

A. D. 1760.

Colberg beſieged.

Siege raiſed.

The confined ſituation of M. Daun's army, occaſioned by the maſterly movements of his Pruſſian Majeſty, ſtrengthened by the junction with his brother Henry and a part of his army, who had left the other part under General Goltze, encamped near Glogau, to watch the Ruſſians in that quarter; ſtopped the operations of the confederate Auſtrians and Ruſſians ſo effectually; that, to deliver him from thence, the Ruſſians were prevailed upon to march into Brandenburg.

Bad ſituation of M. Daun.

Eruption of the Ruſſians, &c. into Brandenburg.

A. D. 1760.

Of which march, its motives, and barbarous irregularities we have an authentic narrative from the court of Berlin. This account is introduced with a ſuppoſition, That the Ruſſians had reſolved by their exceſſes this year, in the territories of his Pruſſian Majeſty, to ſurpaſs the enormous cruelties, to which his dominions had been a prey laſt year: and that after four unſucceſsful campaigns, his enemies thought they ſhould more eaſily obtain their ends by means, equally ſhocking to humanity, and inconſiſtent with the practice of civilized nations, than by endeavouring to terminate the war by arms and the ſuperiority of their forces.

An account of their barbarities.

In this light all the operations of the enemy, during this campaign, and in particular, this famous expedition into Brandenburg, with a reſolution to penetrate up to Berlin, preſent themſelves to every impartial reader. Review the mighty armies of Auſtrians and Ruſſians we have followed this year into Sileſia. They overran that fine country not like enemies, come to fight in a good cauſe, or even to get a forcible poſſeſſion of the fortreſſes by regular ſieges; but to carry fire and ſword into a province, which they are pleaſed at Vienna to conſider as part of the inconteſtable dominions of the Houſe of Auſtria. Towns exhauſted by moſt heavy contributions, were plundered and ſacked, as in the particular caſe of Landſhut, contrary to all the laws of war: and the military licentiouſneſs exerciſed againſt Breſlau and other fortreſſes in Sileſia, which they were conſcious could not be taken without artillery,

artillery, of which they were in want, creates a belief that they bombarded them for their pleaſure, and took a delight in beholding numbers of houſes and ſtately edifices conſuming in the midſt of flames. A. D. 1760.

An abominable practice, that would ſoon have totally ruined Sileſia, had not Providence put a ſtop to it, by the battle of Lignitz; which diſconcerted their plan for the reſt of the campaign: at a time when, to all human appearance, the Pruſian Monarch was ready to be ſwallowed up by three armies, each of them ſuperior to his in numbers: and his enemies had made themſelves ſo ſure of his ruin, that they had fixed the day to determine his fate. But on that day the battle was not given to the ſtrong. Victory not only decided in favour of the Pruſſian hero; but reduced thoſe grand armies, he had defeated, or frightened, to conſult in the beſt manner for their own ſafety. The Ruſſians retired towards the frontiers of Poland, as uſual, ſetting fire to every place where they had received any loſs, or apprehended any attack. The Auſtrian armies ſhut themſelves up in the hills of Sileſia, and oppoſed thoſe natural barricades to the efforts, which his Majeſty made to come to blows with them. There they waited for the iſſue of the diverſion, which the policy of their court was to procure, to be made. Marſhal Soltikoff remained the whole month of September, without daring to make the leaſt motion, in preſence of the ſmall corps under General Goltze; the operations of his troops being confined to the deſolating Remarks.

A. D. 1760. thoſe parts of lower Sileſia, that were in his power. But, as this proceeding could not deliver the Auſtrian army from its confined poſition, which in the end might prove fatal to it, the court of Vienna again had recourſe to thoſe methods, which it employed, with ſo mueh ſucceſs, to extricate itſelf from a dilemma, and prevailed with the Ruſſians to invade the Marche of Brandenburg.

Berlin bombarded. For this end, the Generals Czernichef and Tottleben were detached with upwards of 20,000 men, and General Laſcy was ſent againſt Berlin with 14,000 from the Auſtrian army. The whole Ruſſian army followed at a ſmall diſtance, to ſuſtain this grand enterpriſe. But each party wanting to get before the other, General Tottleben, without waiting for the arrival of the large corps of troops, appeared on the 3d of October before Berlin, with 2000 light troops and ſome foot. He immediately ſummoned it, and upon its refuſing to ſurrender, he threw into the town ſome hundreds of royal grenades, bombs, and red hot balls, in hopes of obtaining by fire and by terror, what he could not promiſe himſelf from his forces. The three aſſaults made on Halle gate, were repelled; and the flames, which had broke out in five different parts, were happily extinguiſhed.

Defended. The prudent meaſures taken by the Pruſſian generals, who were at Berlin, at laſt obliged the Ruſſian general to retire without effecting his purpoſe. Mean while, Prince Eugene of Wurtemburgh, and Lieutenant-General Hulſen, had come to the aſſiſtance of the capital, and for ſome time put a

ſtop

ſtop to the enemy's enterprizes: they would probably have obliged them wholly to drop their deſign, had not Count Czernichef, on one ſide, and General Laſcy, on the other, come up with their troops. At the ſame time the grand Ruſſian army arrived at Francfort on the Oder, and General Panin, with ſeven regiments, was detached towards Berlin, to ſuſtain General Czernichef; and he could be followed every day by freſh detachments. A. D. 1760.

The two Pruſſian generals above-mentioned, ſeeing the great ſuperiority of the enemy, would not expoſe the city to the precarious iſſue of a battle, and reſolved to give it time to capitulate, in order to prevent the calamities to which it might be expoſed: accordingly they withdrew on the 6th, before day-break, to Spandow, and the governor and the magiſtrates made ſeparate capitulations with General Tottleben. It was agreed that the town ſhould be delivered up to the Ruſſians; that the garriſon, conſiſting of two battalions of Itzenplitz's regiment, and one battalion of Ludenitz's militia, ſhould be priſoners of war; and that, on paying a contribution 1,500,000 crowns, and 200,000, as a gratuity to the troops, for which the town was obliged to become bound, it ſhould enjoy full liberty, protection, and ſafety, while the enemy ſtaid in it. The priſoners, who, at the moſt, amounted to 1200 men, and no more, were carried off; and the cadets, who could not be comprehended in the capitulation, which mentions only generals, officers, ſubalterns and ſol- Capitulates.

A. D. 1760. diers, were carried away with the reſt on foot. Though ſcarce above ten or twelve years old, their tender age could not ſecure them from this hard uſage, which put an end to many of their lives.

Capitulation broke. This capitulation was no better obſerved than that made in the year 1757, with General Haddick [y]. For both Ruſſians and Auſtrians immediately broke it. By the third article of the two capitulations for the garriſon, and the town, it was ſettled, "that no ſoldier ſhould be quartered "in the city or ſuburbs; that the light troops "ſhould not be permitted even to enter the place; "and that both the royal palaces and private "houſes ſhould be entirely ſafe, and not be ex- "poſed to pillage:" nevertheleſs, ſeveral Auſtrian regiments took up their quarters in the town, as hath juſt been mentioned. They even lived at diſcretion; and, not content with eating and drinking at the expence of their landlords, they compelled them to give them money, goods, and whatever they aſked. There were few inhabitants of Berlin, whom theſe gueſts did not coſt hun-

[y] By virtue of the capitulation concluded with General Haddick in 1757, the city of Berlin was to be no more moleſted or burdened by the Auſtrians during the whole courſe of this war; nevertheleſs, ſome Auſtrian regiments took up their quarters by force, and againſt the will of the Ruſſians, at Frederichſtadt, and in the New Town, where, by this act of violence, and the exceſſes of every kind which they were guilty of, they gave freſh proofs how little they regard their own engagements.

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dreds or thouſands of crowns. The town was, in a manner, over-run with coſſacks, huſſars, and other light troops, who robbed both in the ſtreets and in the houſes, and wherever they came. Nor were the regular troops wholly free from this reproach: the Auſtrians, in particular, diſtinguiſhed themſelves in theſe exploits. On a careful enquiry, it has been found, that 282 private houſes were broke and plundered, and the inhabitants compelled, by the moſt barbarous acts of violence, to part with money, watches, and whatever the ſoldiers had a mind to. A very great number of perſons were beat, cut with ſwords, and abuſed in a cruel manner. A woman named Schack was found dead on the quay of Collen with her body disfigured by wounds. People ſcarce dared to appear in the ſtreets for fear of being robbed; and moſt of thoſe, whoſe buſineſs obliged them to be abroad in the evening, or at night, were ſtripped of every thing. The King's ſtables, which by the capitulation were not to be touched, were a principal object of the enemy's ravage, though the Ruſſian commander had placed there a ſafeguard of 24 men. All his Majeſty's coaches, which could not, ſurely, be reckoned implements of war, were broke to pieces, after being ſtripped of the velvet, embroidery and lace; and the apartments of M. Schwerin, one of the King's equerries, which are over the ſtables, were plundered. The hoſpital for invalids, and the hoſpital called la Charité, thoſe retreats of the unhappy, the infirm, and the indi- A. D. 1760.

A. D. 1760. gent, which, one would imagine, the moſt cruel enemy would have reſpected, were not ſpared, but pillaged, and expoſed to other exceſſes of different kinds. In the church of Jeruſalem, the Auſtrians robbed the veſtry and the poor's box, and opened ſome graves to ſtrip the dead. It muſt be acknowledged, that General Tottleben, and Brigadier Bachmen, who was appointed vice-governor, endeavoured to maintain order and diſcipline in the city, and that they even put a ſtop to ſome exceſſes committed by the troops: but moſt of the diſorders were ſuffered to paſs unpuniſhed; and, by the exceſſes committed in breach of the capitulation, the city ſuſtained the loſs of ſome hundred thouſand crowns, over and above the enormous contributions exacted from it.

Nevertheleſs, what happened at Berlin, was nothing compared to what was done in the ſmall towns and the flat country, the whole, from the gates of Berlin to the diſtance of ſeveral miles, being laid totally deſolate. In particular, the Auſtrian, Ruſſian, and Saxon troops joined, to leave the moſt deteſtable marks of their rage and inhumanity at the caſtle of Charlottenbourg. Eſterhaſi's Auſtrian huſſars, and the Saxon Uhlans, diſtinguiſhed themſelves in this exploit, and their officers looked on unconcerned. Whole ſquadrons entered the caſtle on the 9th of October, and plundered it for four days ſucceſſively, without receiving the leaſt check from either general or officer. All the tapeſtry was torn down; looking-glaſſes, pictures, tables, chairs, china, in ſhort, all

all that was of any value, was broke or ſpoilt, except a large quantity of effects, which ſome greedy officers took for themſelves, and ſent away in covered waggons. Even the King's chapel, that ſacred place, which the moſt ſavage nations would have reſpected, was ravaged, and profaned by their naſtineſs, and the organs broke. In the apartments of the caſtle, the pictures of the royal family were ſpoilt and disfigured, and ſeveral ſtatues of the celebrated cabinet of Cardinal Polignac, valuable monuments of antiquity, were mutilated or damaged. In ſhort, ſuch havock was made at this country ſeat, that ſcarce any thing more than the walls could properly be ſaid to be left. Nevertheleſs, the plunder got here did not ſatisfy the enemy's greedineſs, nor ſecure the inhabitants of the town from being plundered, tho' they had ranſomed themſelves by the payment of 15,000 crowns in ready money. Every thing was taken from them; and what could not be carried away was broke or deſtroyed. Several inhabitants were horſewipped, and cut with ſabres; of which two died. Even the women, without diſtinction of age, were expoſed to the rage of the enemy, and made the victims of their brutality. A. D. 1760.

Schoenhauſen, the Queen's country-houſe, ſhared much the ſame fate. A Ruſſian ſubaltern arrived there on the 8th of October, with eight huſſars, and demanded, with grievous threats, her Majeſty's plate. In vain he was told, that it had been carried, long before, to a place of ſafety: they ſearched the caſtle, and, not finding what they

A. D. 1760. they wanted, pulled down and tore the tapiſtry and the curtains, and, taking what they liked, went to the houſe of the keeper of the caſtle, ſtripped him and his wife, beat him with rods and whips, and even pinched them with red hot pincers in a cruel manner. The General Czernichef and Tottleben, being informed of theſe cruelties, promiſed, indeed, to put a ſtop to them; but, inſtead thereof, the caſtle was totally deſolated between the 9th and 12th. All the tapiſtry and curtains, left after the former viſit, were torn, and the chairs, pictures, and china, broke to pieces. In ſhort, Schoenhauſen was made a deſart; nor did the offices belonging to it, or the village of Pankow, which adjoins to it, fare better. A ſervant belonging to the caſtle was laid on the fire in his own apartment, and the miniſter's footman hacked to death with ſabres. The women were diſhonoured in the moſt barbarous manner: all the cattle were driven away, and every houſe and barn emptied.

The palace of the Margrave Charles at Friedrichfelde received the ſame treatment from the Ruſſians; and moſt of the provincial towns met with no more favour. Francfort, in particular, was moſt grievouſly harraſſed many ways; though the enemy's generals had given the magiſtrates aſſurances in writing, that they had no farther exactions to fear. Lieutenant-Colonel Roſchewſky lighted a large fire in the great ſquare, with which he threatned to ſet the city in flames. A burgomaſter was whipped in a cruel manner, and all

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the magiſtrates threatned with the ſame treatment. By theſe violent meaſures they extorted great quantities of cloth, linen, and forage, and a contribution of 50,000 crowns, beſides what was given under the title of extraordinaries: which, however, did not prevent many acts of cruelty and robbery from being committed in that town, where the damage amounts to above 200,000 crowns. A. D. 1760.

The fate of Copenick, Furſtenwald, Beſkow, Alt-Lanſberg, Strauſberg, Orangeberg, Lubenwalde, and, in general, of all the towns in the Marche, where the enemy came, was equally hard. They were forced to pay contributions, and to furniſh things, much above their abilities, and, after all, were expoſed to pillage and ſhocking acts of cruelty. But nothing can come up to the dreadful ſight, which the flat country preſented from Berlin to the frontiers of Poland, Sileſia, and Saxony, wherever the enemy have been. The villages were entirely plundered, and the country people left deſtitute both of corn and cattle. Their beds, their furniture, and, in ſhort, all they had, was carried off. The corn, which the enemy could not uſe, or carry off, they ſcattered about, and threw into the dirt. All the cattle, cows as well as horſes, oxen and ſheep, were taken: above 100,000 head paſſed through Francfort. Some villages were ſet on fire, particularly Sconeberg and Groſſen-Beer. In ſhort, wherever they came, they beat and abuſed the inhabitants in the moſt cruel manner, and barbarouſly

A. D. 1760. rouſly diſhonoured the women, without diſtinction of age or condition, in preſence of their parents and huſbands. In fine, to fill up the meaſure of their deeds of inhumanity and horror, they laid aſide all regard to the ſepulchres of the dead, which have always been held in a kind of veneration by the moſt barbarous nations. The troops under General Laſcy, in their return thro' Wilmerſdorff, an eſtate belonging to the Schwerin family, broke open the burying vault, opened the coffin of the maſter of the horſe to the King, who had been dead twelve years, and thoſe of his lady and children, ſtript the bodies, and threw them on the ground. Theſe barbarities, of which the hiſtory of the leaſt civilized nations furniſhes few examples, will be handed down to the moſt diſtant poſterity, and perpetuate the ſhame of Pruſſia's enemies.

It is confeſſed that it may be retorted upon his Pruſſian Majeſty, that his arms are not free entirely from an accuſation of licentiouſneſs and exceſs; particularly the complaints exhibited againſt him for the behaviour of his army at Dreſden, and ſometimes of his own conduct. But the reader may ſee his apology in the note [z] at bottom for

[z] What is ſaid above, is only a brief ſummary, and as it were the outlines of the ſcene of devaſtation, which the King's enemies made in the Marche in their laſt invaſion. A detail of particulars would fill volumes. But no fact has been mentioned, but what any one may be convinced of by the teſtimony of their own ſenſes. We have not taken the liberty to make ill-grounded and exaggerated complaints, ſuch as are thoſe

for thoſe exceſſes, and is left to judge thereby, how much leſs culpable the Pruſſian arms are, than A. D. 1760.

thoſe of a court, which employs venal pens to excite falſe compaſſion, by magnifying the evils it hath brought on itſelf through its own fault. It is well known how it filled Europe with its clamours, when its capital, defended by its allies, as if it had been a regular fortreſs, ſuſtained, more through their fault, than that of the beſiegers, the natural conſequences of a ſiege; while it appears quite inſenſible at the fate of the city of Wittemberg, which thoſe very allies reduced to aſhes without any neceſſity, and almoſt without having fired againſt the ramparts. It forgets probably, or wants to make the public forget, that its allies made no ſcruple to bombard likewiſe without neceſſity, and for the moſt part without ſucceſs, Zittau, Schweidnitz, Cuſtrin, Colberg, Breſlau, Berlin, and Coſel: and that in this manner they reduced a part of thoſe towns to aſhes, and greatly damaged the reſt. That court would at preſent have great reaſon to make the moſt ſerious reflections on the obligation it lies under to its troops and thoſe of its allies, for the conduct they have held, if the King were diſpoſed to follow bad examples, and to retaliate on the ſubjects of Saxony the calamities, which his ſubjects have been ſo unjuſtly made to ſuffer. But his Majeſty's manner of thinking will always prevent his recurring to ſuch rigorous methods, till he be forced to it by indiſpenſable neceſſity. He deteſts this illicit manner of making war the more, as it contributes ſo little to the end, for which war is waged.

Unable hitherto to cruſh the King, the magnanimous defender of the German liberties, it again hath recourſe to thoſe methods which the Ferdinands [of Auſtria] employed in the laſt century, to reduce the whole Empire under their deſpotic yoke. By its conduct in our days, it renews the ſad remembrance of that long and bloody war which Germany then groaned under, for the ſpace of thirty years. Let all Europe conſider at preſent what it hath to expect from ſuch an enemy. Let it judge, whether the Houſe of Auſtria, in caſe it could

A. D. 1760.

than thoſe of his enemies in acts of cruelty and licentiouſneſs.

King of Pruſſia obliged to march into Brandenbourg.

The march of the Pruſſians into Brandenbourg with 80,000 men, had the deſired effect. His Pruſſian Majeſty could not remain inactive and give up his electorate to be plundered, pillaged, ravaged, ruined and conquered, by an enemy, that rejected the propoſals of peace, and ſought nothing but deſtruction wherever they came. His preſence was neceſſary in Brandenbourg. His Majeſty accordingly called in his detachments, which lock'd up M. Daun in the mountains, marched, and arrived at Dam on the 20th of October. M. Daun releaſed from his confinement, marched immediately after his Pruſſian Majeſty, with this caution, to keep without the diſtance that might force him to a battle. But though the Ruſſian generals found it very eaſy to ſlip, as it were, into Brandenbourg, with an army of 80,000 men, and to make themſelves maſters of an open city, defended only by a handful of men; that mighty army no ſooner were informed of his Pruſſian Majeſty's approach for the relief of his oppreſſed ſubjects, but they fled with great precipitation; ſome towards Poland, others into Saxony. So that if the King could not arrive time enough to prevent the miſeries above de-

Is followed by M. Daun.

The Ruſſians retire.

accompliſh the depreſſion of that of Brandenbourg, would not extend its ambitious views farther; and, to gain its end, ſeek to involve other ſtates in the calamities in which it wants to plunge thoſe of his Majeſty.

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ſcribed; he was enabled, by the flight of the Ruſſians, to remove the theatre of war into Saxony; where the Auſtrians and Imperialiſts, had got poſſeſſion of Leipſic [a], Wittenberg [b], Torgau [c], and were maſters of all that electorate; while his Pruſſian Majeſty was abſent from that country, and employed in more important affairs for his own and his country's ſecurity. A. D. 1760.

But when all the world were ready to deſpair of his Pruſſian Majeſty's affairs, this martial Prince, as thunder diſperſes the clouds, reſumed his operations in the field with a vigour that ſurprized every body, chaſtiſed his enemies, and made the horizon of his glory brighter, than at the beginning of the campaign. Contemning enemies, that dared not fight him in the field, and glutted their paſſions with a predatory war, to the deſtruction of innocent and defenceleſs individuals, his Majeſty with his right, paſſed the Elbe at Roſlau on the 27th, and there was joined by the troops under Prince Eugene of Wurtemburg and General Hulſen: and on the 28th proceeded to Kemberg, and joined the left, amounting in all to 80,000 men. King of Pruſſia marches in queſt of the enemy.

[a] Evacuted by the Pruſſian garriſon, which took the road to Magdebourg, on the 4th of October.

[b] Capitulated on the 13th of October to the Count of Guaſco, an Imperial general. By which two battalions of Plotho and one of Grollman were made priſoners of war: and 31 pieces of cannon, with a quantity of ammunition fell into the enemies hands.

[c] Surrendered to the Imperialiſts under the Prince of Deux Ponts, whereby 2400 Pruſſians were made priſoners.

A. D. 1760.

Is followed by M. Daun.

M. Daun, whoſe principal buſineſs was to attend to the motions of his Pruſſian Majeſty, called in the corps under General Laſcy, and alſo croſſed the Elbe at Torgau, and, by advancing to Eulenberg, diſcovered his intention to open a communication with, or to join the army of the Empire encamped near Leipſic. But not being able to effect that deſign, the Imperialiſts decamped and got off in a fog, and Daun retired to Torgau. Gen. Hulſen [d] drove the Imperialiſts from before Leipſic, took poſſeſſion of that city [e]; placed a garriſon in it, and rejoined the Pruſſian main army encamped at Eulenberg.

Critical ſituation of the King of Pruſſia.

Every return of the ſun ſmiled upon the continual ſucceſſes of his arms: but theſe were only glittering enjoyments, that, without a compleat victory, could not eſtabliſh the King's intereſt and ſecurity. While the enemy were in a condition to keep the field, his ſubſtance and ſtrength ſuffered extremely, by protracting a war, that was not able to procure an honourable and ſecure peace. Theſe conſiderations, put his Majeſty upon meaſures to force M. Daun to a general engagement: of the two, it being more glorious to die in the field of battle, in defence of his dominions and ſubjects; than to ſuffer them to ſink under the burden and continuation of a conſuming war.

Reſolves to force M. Daun to fight.

[d] And Prince Eugene of Wurtemberg made 500 men of the Duke of Wirtemberg's troops priſoners at Cothen: and obliged the Duke himſelf to retire to Leipſic.

[e] And of Wittenberg, and made 400 pandours priſoners of war.

The

A. D. 1760.

M. Daun's situation.

The Auſtrian general had taken all precautions to prevent a ſurprize; and was no ways apprehenſive, that his Pruſſian Majeſty would attack him in a camp ſo well fortified. But on the 2d of November, the King decamped, to execute his reſolution to attack the Auſtrians. His Majeſty encamped at Lang-Reichenbach, between Schilda and Torgau: his huſſars attacked General Brentano, who was on his march with about 1000 horſe, and made 400 priſoners: and he learnt at Reichenbach, that the right wing of the Auſtrians was at Groſwich, and their left at Torgau. The King reſolving to attack them next day, propoſed to march through the wood of Torgau, by three different roads, with 30 battalions and 50 ſquadrons of his left wing. The firſt line was to advance by the way of Makrene to Neiden, the ſecond by Peckhutte to Elſnick, and the third, which conſiſted wholly of cavalry, by the wood of Wildenhayn to Vogelſang.

On the other hand, General Ziethen, with 30 battalions and 70 ſquadrons of the right, was to take the great Leipſic road, and coming out of it at the Ponds of Torgau, to direct his attacks againſt the villages of Suptitz and Groſwich.

Battle of Torgau.

This plan was executed in the following manner: the King's line, while on their march, fell upon the corps under General Reid, conſiſting of two regiments of dragoons and three battalions of pandours, who retired at the approach of the Pruſſians, into the wood of Torgau. But they found in the wood near Wildenhayn another more

A. D. 1760. conſiderable corps of the enemy; who, after firing ſome volleys of cannon on the vanguard, immediately retired to Groſchutz.

The Pruſſian vanguard was on the point of attacking them, when they learnt that St. Ignon's dragoons were in the wood on their left, between two columns of their foot. Being immediately attacked by the Pruſſian huſſars, they wanted to retire, but met the grenadiers of the vanguard, whoſe fire ſtopt them: ſo that the huſſars made moſt of them priſoners. Thoſe, who eſcaped, fell in with the ſecond and third lines, where the Pruſſian cavalry was, and were either diſperſed or taken.

At two in the afternoon, the King got through the wood to the little plain of Neiden. There he found Bathiani's dragoons and a regiment of foot, which after firing ſome cannon-ſhot, retired to Torgau; from whence was heard a briſk and continued fire of cannon and ſmall arms, which made them judge that General Ziethen was already engaged with the enemy. On this the King mended his pace, and paſſing the moraſſes near Neiden, inclined on the right towards a ſmall wood, marching in three lines. The horſe were on the left of the foot, with their left at the Elbe.

On their approach M. Daun made a front, and received them with a briſk fire of 200 pieces of cannon. His right extended to Groſwich, and his left to Zinne. His foot occupied very advantageous eminences along the Leipſic road. His ſecond line, againſt which the King directed the

attack, was placed on a piece of ground, which terminated in hillocks towards the Elbe. A. D. 1760.

His Majeſty had diſpoſed the attack in ſuch a manner, that either his right or his left muſt take the enemy in rear, and cloſe them in, ſo that they ſhould not be able to undertake any thing againſt the part, where he intended to effect his attack. Nevertheleſs the Pruſſians were repulſed the firſt time, after a very ſmart fire of artillery and ſmall arms. And the grenadiers ſuffered much from the Auſtrian carabineers. The King made a ſecond vigorous attack; but his men were again repulſed, and forced to give way. Whereupon the King made Bareith's dragoons advance, who took priſoners the Emperor's own regiment, thoſe of Neuperg and Gaiſrugg, and a battalion of Bareith's. At the ſame time, Spaen's cuiraſſiers fell upon other regiments of foot, and put them into diſorder. Upon which the enemy advanced between 60 and 80 battalions towards Torgau, placing their left at Zinne, and their right at the Elbe. The Prince of Holſtein went to meet them with the cavalry, and at firſt made them give way; but, at the ſecond ſhock, he was himſelf forced to retire. Nevertheleſs, he returned to the charge, and a third line of foot attacked the vineyard of Suptitz, whilſt General Ziethen with the right wing took the enemy in rear. This diſpoſition had the deſired ſucceſs; it threw the Auſtrians into great diſorder. Auſtrians defeated.

Theſe different attacks laſted till a quarter after nine at night; as the night was uncommonly dark,

A. D. 1760. it was not poſſible to purſue the enemy. M. Daun was wounded in the thigh, and perhaps the victory was facilitated by his wound. The enemy employed the reſt of the night in croſſing the Elbe, with all ſpeed, on three bridges of boats, which they threw over it at Torgau. Next morning, at day-break, the Pruſſians entered that town, and ſeized twenty boats belonging to their bridges.

Retreat.

Torgau ſurrenders.

The enemy loſt in this engagement four generals, 200 officers, and 7000 men, made priſoners: 29 pair of colours, one ſtandard, 37 cannon, and three obuſiers. In the firſt attacks, in which the Pruſſians were repulſed, the enemy took two generals, ſome officers, and about 1500 ſoldiers. The Pruſſians loſt 2500 men killed, and 4900 wounded. The action was very ſharp, the ground was diſputed on both ſides with the greateſt obſtinacy [f].

Loſs on both ſides.

The two generals, whom the enemy made priſoners, were Count Finckenſtein and M. Bulow. The King's breaſt was grazed by a ball, and the Margrave Charles received a violent contuſion on the thigh.

M. Daun, finding himſelf wounded in the action, reſigned the command of the army to General Buccow; and his arm being ſhot off in a few

M. Daun wounded, reſigns the command.

[f] Account of this battle publiſhed at Vienna makes the loſs of the Pruſſians 20,000 men killed, wounded, and miſſing; and their own to be no more than 10,000. But it is thought that the Auſtrians loſs was greateſt, and that both accounts were purpoſely exaggerated.

minutes

minutes after, the ſole command devolved upon General O'Donnel: who retreated with great expedition towards Dreſden, provided for the ſafety of that city, and took poſſeſſion of the ſtrong camp at Plauen. A. D. 1760. Auſtrian grand army marches to Dreſden.

The news of this victory ſpread terror amongſt the enemies of Pruſſia. All Saxony fell once more into the hands of the Pruſſian Monarch, except Dreſden and the Auſtrian camp; it being too late in the year to beſiege that city. The Ruſſians retreated into Poland, before a detachment ſent againſt them from the field of battle; and General Laudohn, who was entruſted with a ſtrong corps of Auſtrians in Sileſia, raiſed the ſiege of Coid, and retired into the county of Glatz, as ſoon as he heard, at that diſtance, of the defeat of M. Daun near Torgau. Effects of this victory.

Having for awhile got clear of theſe potent enemies, who made the beſt of their way into winter-quarters; and ſwept the Swedes out of Pomerania, where they were ſeverely handled by Colonel Belling, (who ſurprized 2000 of their troops in the neighbourhood of Prentzlaw, and made two officers, ſix ſubalterns and 250 private men priſoners of war, about the latter end of September) and by General Werner, (who attacked the Swediſh corps under General Ekrenſchwerdt, near Paſewalch, made ſixteen officers, and 500 private men priſoners, and took ſix pieces of cannon,) his Pruſſian Majeſty detached 10,000 men, under General Focade, by the rout of Thuringia, to join Prince Ferdinand, in his operations King of Pruſſia's other ſucceſſes. Detaches 10,000 men to Prince Ferdinand.

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tions againſt the French, and then diſpoſed of his other troops in cantonments for the winter.

Retires into winter quarters.

A happy concluſion for his Pruſſian Majeſty; by which he extricated himſelf from thoſe formidable and imminent dangers, that gathered about him from every quarter; and which placed him in a much better ſituation, than he was left at the cloſe of the year 1759. He was now in full poſſeſſion of all his own dominions, except thoſe provinces which had remained, from the beginning of the war, in the hands of the enemy. And he had now over-run and ſeized upon the greateſt part of Luſatia, Saxony, Swediſh Pomerania and Mecklenburg; from whence his Majeſty might raiſe large contributions, towards the ſupport of his army, and to retaliate for the plunder and money raiſed by his enemies on his ſubjects in the courſe of this year. So that, by comparing his advantages, with thoſe gained by all his confederate enemies, during this campaign, and with his own ſtate at the end of the laſt campaign, we ſhall find the ballance vaſtly preponderate in his Pruſſian Majeſty's favour. The Swedes had penetrated a conſiderable way into Pomerania, but were repulſed with conſiderable loſs, and obliged to retire to Stralſund. The Ruſſians made ſeveral efforts to reduce Sileſia and Brandenburg, and indulged their barbarous nature with exceſſes of the moſt brutal kind, as well as by exceſſive contributions: but they were fled; and hid themſelves in Poland. The Auſtrians and Imperialiſts had made great progreſs in Sileſia, and got poſſeſſion of all Saxony:

A comparative view of his Pruſſian Majeſty's preſent ſituation.

but

but they abandoned their conqueſts, as the Pruſſian arms returned from the field of victory, and left his Majeſty in poſſeſſion of all their laurels, except Dreſden. It is impoſſible to look upon this map of the ſeat of war, without being loſt in amazement of thoſe great abilities, which were ſufficient to deliver the King from ſo many perplexing difficulties, and placed him in a better ſituation, than he was in at the cloſe of the laſt campaign. For, then he was forced to ſit down with the loſs of four capital battles: and to conclude with the moſt fatal of them, the ſurrender at Maxen. But, though the Pruſſians ſet out in the year 1760, with the unfortunate affair of General Fouquet, both the King and his brother Henry prevented the Auſtrians from deriving any advantage from their victory, and the battles of Lignitz and Torgau, crowned his Pruſſian Majeſty with two great and glorious victories, that totally ruined the operations of his enemies. A. D. 1760.

A continuation of the campaign under Prince Ferdinand.

The ſituation into which Prince Ferdinand had brought his army, and the great preparations, which were carried on with all ſeeming vigour in England, for an expedition with land forces, made it ſhrewdly ſuppoſed that the army in Engliſh pay in Germany, and the troops embarked on board the expedition fleet, were deſtined to act in ſuch a manner, as to carry the ſeat of war into the heart of France itſelf.

Hereditary Prince detached over the Rhine.

The Hereditary Prince was detached with a ſufficient ſtrength to clear the Duchy of Cleves, and the adjacent parts, from French troops; and this

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this Prince paſſing the Rhine at Roervot, on the 29th of September, he ſcoured the country to Rhineberg, ſat down before Weſel, and ſent detachments, which took poſſeſſion of Rees and Emmerick. Weſel was completely inveſted on the 3d of October: and on the ſame day Cleves ſurrendered, with a garriſon of 500 men, to another of his detachments.

His ſucceſs.

Inveſts Weſel.

He did not meet the like ſucceſs before Weſel. His Serene Highneſs had the ſeaſon, as well as a powerful and vigilant enemy to encounter. The heavy rains, which fell at this time, ſwelled the Rhine and the Lippe ſo as to overflow their banks, and render the roads in Weſtphalia impaſſible, retarded his operations, and allowed the French time to march to the relief of this fortreſs.

The trenches were opened on the 10th of October, at night, without any loſs. The governor made two ſallies, without any ſucceſs, or damage to the works; and fortified the bridge over the Rhine, by which way he expected ſuccours.

The French reſolve to relieve the place.

The importance of this fortreſs, with whoſe conqueſt the whole country adjoining would infallibly ſubmit to the allies, determined M. Duke de Broglio to detach a ſufficient force to defeat their attempt; which, he was perſuaded, might arrive time enough, on account of the delay the beſiegers would meet with from the ſeaſon.

M. de Caſtries marches to its relief.

The French marſhal ordered M. de Caſtries to take upon him the command of this corps, which was compoſed of a ſtrong detachment from the main army in Heſſe, and of troops collected from the

the Low Countries. Theſe forces being united, M. de Caſtries, with forced marches, reached Rhineberg, an advanced poſt of the allies, on the 14th, and obliged the troops to retire, though ſupported by the Hereditary Prince in perſon. In this ſhort and briſk action, his Serene Highneſs's horſe was wounded. A battle was unavoidable; and the Hereditary Prince, after reconnoitring the French camp, in perſon, formed a deſign to ſurprize them. But his troops were not ſufficiently collected to carry his deſign into execution: Major-General Bock's corps could not arrive till next morning, at ſix o'clock: Lieutenant-General Waldegrave's at eleven: and Lieutenant-General Howard's in the evening, when it grew dark. His Serene Highneſs had alſo ordered four Hanoverian battalions, of thoſe that were deſtined for the ſiege, to march to his aſſiſtance; but they could not complete their junction the ſame night.

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Drives the advanced guard from Rhineberg.

Hereditary Prince reſolves to give the French battle.

The enemy having left five battalions and ſome ſquadrons at Rhineberg, marched by the left, and encamped behind the convent of Campen; where M. de Caſtries halted for the coming up of his laſt troops, expected to arrive on the next and following day. Therefore his Serene Highneſs thought it beſt to attack the French in this ſituation, and without waiting for his troops, upon their march to his aſſiſtance, he left four battalions and five ſquadrons, under Major-General Bock, in order to obſerve Rhineberg, and to attack that poſt, in caſe of ſucceſs on the ſide of Campen, and at ten o'clock in the evening, of the 15th, he

ſilently

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Strength of both ſides.

A ſtratagem.

Diſconcerted.

The enemy attacked.

The Hereditary Prince retreats.

ſilently decamped, and marched with only twenty battalions, and juſt as many ſquadrons, to ſurprize M. de Caſtries's camp, which contained thirty battalions and thirty-eight ſquadrons. However, the ſtratagem was well planned, and would probably have ſucceeded, had it not been diſconcerted by ſkirmiſhes with a detachment of Fiſcher's corps, who had thrown themſelves into the convent of Campen about the ſame time, and which the allies were obliged to paſs, in their march towards the left flank of the enemy. This convent ſtood at about half a league in front of the camp: and the troops in it muſt be cut off, to prevent an alarm to the camp. But this could not be done without firing ſome muſkets, which being heard by the main body, M. de Caſtries took the alarm, and had warning enough to put his troops haſtily under arms. However, his Serene Highneſs perſiſted in the attack, which he began about five in the morning: but the enemy being poſted near a wood, this ſituation encreaſed the difficulty. They repulſed the allies twice: and after a terrible and well-ſupplied fire of the muſquetry, from five in the morning till about nine at night, without ceaſing, his Serene Highneſs having received a a ſlight wound in his leg, by the ſhot that killed his horſe under him, and convinced of the impracticability of driving the enemy out of the wood, with the force he could muſter, and his infantry having ſpent all their ammunition, he came to a reſolution to retreat towards the Rhine, whoſe overflowings had rendered his communication with the

the ſiege very hazardous and almoſt impoſſible. This retreat was executed without a briſk purſuit from the enemy: and with the ſame order and reſolution with which his brave troops had fought all the day, carrying with them ſufficient proofs of their bravery, in the perſon of Lieutenant-General de Seyar, ſeveral other officers and ſome hundreds of private men, who were made priſoners; together with one pair of colours and ſome pieces of cannon. A loſs much ſuperior to that of the allies; which did not exceed 1000 men, killed, wounded, priſoners and miſſing[f]. Lieutenant-Colonel Pitt and Lord Down were wounded and fell into the hands of the enemy. Major-General Elliot and Colonel Harvey, and another general officer, were wounded, but not dangerouſly. So that, notwithſtanding the ſuperiority of the French, and the bridge over which the retreating army was to paſs, was broken down by the floods of the Rhine, they did not attempt to oppoſe the paſſage of the allies, or even ſo much as to fall upon their rear; except an action which happened with cannon and ſmall arms from morning till night, on the 16th, between a party of the French and an advanced body of the allies, near Elverick.

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Loſs on both ſides.

In conſequence of this retreat the Hereditary Prince was obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Weſel:

Siege of Weſel raiſed.

[f] The French ſaid that the affair was bloody, and that the loſs on both ſides did amount to 6000 men. It is remarked, that in all theſe enterprizes the Engliſh troops bore the heat and burden of the day, and thereby ſuffered moſt.

and

A. D. 1760. and he marched to Bruynen, where he fixed his head-quarters, and remained encamped for ſome time, watching the motions of M. de Caſtries; and, perhaps waiting his ulterior orders for his future operations, when the Engliſh embarkation ſhould put to ſea. But that embarkation, which had been carrying on at Portſmouth four months ſucceſſively, and conſiſted of 8,000 men, to be convoyed by a large ſquadron of men of war, and ſupported with a large quantity of mortars, cannon, bombs, ammunition and all ſorts of implements and ſtores for the field and for ſieges, under the command of General Kingſley by land, and of Commodore Keppel by ſea, did not take effect. Some were of opinion that this armament was originally intended, by the miniſter, againſt Martinico; but that he had not intereſt enough to get it carried into execution: and that he afterwards agreed to employ it in the beſt manner for the intereſt of the nation againſt France in Europe, by co-operating with the Hereditary Prince of Brunſwick. This much is certain; the lateneſs of the ſeaſon, and the embarkation of a detachment of the guards, ſhewed that their place of action was to be in Europe; perhaps on the coaſt of the Auſtrian Netherlands near Blankenburg; ſo that they could have opened a way by the Maeſe to the Hereditary Prince at Weſel, and enabled him to proſecute the war in that quarter with greater vigour; while Prince Ferdinand, reinforced by the corps from the Pruſſian army, ſhould keep Broglio in play

An expedition by ſea from England.

play beyond the Rhine; or on the adjacent part of the coaſt of France, for the ſame purpoſe. A. D. 1760.

Be this as it may; the check received by the Hereditary Prince at Campen, diſabled him, for this ſeaſon; and after our court received advice thereof, the troops, which had been embarked, and lay wind-bound at Spithead for ſome days, were ordered to diſembark, to the great ſurprize and diſguſt of the nation, which expected great and glorious efforts to be made by an armament furniſhed out with ſo great parade and expence. Diſembark.

The French, now flushed with this petty advantage, tried every engine to improve upon the circumſtances of the allied army. M. de Caſtries, finding that the Hereditary Prince was reſolved to remain in the neighbourhood of Schermbeck, to watch an opportunity to renew his expedition beyond the Rhine, detached a ſtrong body to beat up his quarters. The Prince being informed of the deſign, called in his advanced poſts, and prepared to give them a warm reception. He abandoned the tents in the front of his camp, and poſted his infantry in ambuſcade behind thoſe in his rear, with orders for ſome regiments of horſe and huſſars, to fetch a compaſs, ſo as to fall upon the back of the enemy. This anſwered the Prince's expectation. The French, meeting with no reſiſtance, and with a deſerted camp, as they imagined, threw off their guard, and ran, in great diſorder, to pillage the tents. But in the height of their ſecurity and plunder, the infantry ſallied from their ambuſh with great impetuoſity, and A French detachment attack the Hereditary Prince. Defeated.

A. D. 1760. being ſeconded by a well ſerved artillery, and by the cavalry, that charged them in flank, the allies killed or took upwards of a thouſand out of the twelve hundred, that had been detached from Weſel on this ſervice. This action diſcouraged the French from making any further attempts upon the Hereditary Prince, during this campaign.

M. Broglio's intention. But M. Duke de Broglio was continually ſeeking to gain ſome advantage over Prince Ferdinand, after the detachment of the corps under the Hereditary Prince. The French marſhal would have been glad to force his Serene Highneſs to a general engagement, but he could not deceive him by ſtratagem: and the allies were too well fortified to be compelled. Therefore Broglio contented himſelf with the deſtruction he could make, without oppoſition, in the open country by detachments, which ravaged the defenceleſs where-ever they reached. M. de Stainville was detached with a conſiderable body of troops, to penetrate into Hanover; who, after his action with Major Bulow [g], advanced to Halberſtadt, demanded 1,500,000 livres contribution-money from that capital, which had been exhauſted by former exactions; received 30,000, and carried off hoſtages to the French grand camp near Caſſel, for the remaining ſum.

Skirmiſhes.

Prince Ferdinand attempts Gottingen. After this, the French fell back to Gottingen. This movement induced Prince Ferdinand to advance as far as Hurſte, where he eſtabliſhed

[g] See page 368. Vol. III.

his

his head-quarters, about the latter end of November. This ſituation of the two armies occaſioned ſeveral ſkirmiſhes, and encouraged his Serene Highneſs to make a bold attempt to drive the French out of Gottingen. He began with an attack of the French poſt at Heydemunden, upon the river Worrau. In which was employed Major-General Breidenach, with two regiments of Hanoverians and Brunſwick guards, and a detachment of cavalry; who carried their point ſo far as to get poſſeſſion of the town; but, by purſuing the enemy, who had abandoned it, and taken poſt in the entrenchments, that covered the paſſage a-croſs the river, the allied troops were ſo galled by the fire of the enemy's redoubts on the other ſide of the river, that after ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts to force them, M. Briedenach was obliged to deſiſt, and even to retire from the town at midnight, to recruit his ſtrength. Nevertheleſs Prince Ferdinand inveſted Gottingen, and kept it blocked up from the 22d day of November to the 12th of December, notwithſtanding a numerous and well-provided garriſon, which baffled every endeavour of the beſiegers; and the very wet ſeaſon would not allow them to proceed in form with their approaches: beſides, the garriſon having, by a deſperate ſally on the 12th of December, taken one of the principal poſts from the allies, Prince Ferdinand raiſed the blockade, and retired into winter-cantonments, fixing his head-quarters at Uſlar. The Engliſh, under Lord Granby, were cantoned in the biſhopric of Paderborn.

A. D. 1760.

The blockade formed.

Raiſed.

A. D. 1760. Remarks.

Though we had no mighty advantages to boaſt of, at the concluſion of a bloody campaign, in Germany; yet it is inconteſtable, that the employment of the French armies, and the diſſipation of the Gallic finances, in a branch of war, from whence it was not poſſible for them to reap any national benefit, deprived our natural enemy of that ſtrength, which might otherwiſe have been managed to obſtruct our operations in North America, and in the Eaſt Indies; eſpecially, as they had made ſure of an alliance with Spain; whoſe behaviour, at the concluſion of the year 1759, towards the Engliſh, ſettled in the Bay of Honduras, ſhewed that it would be impoſſible to prevent hoſtilities in thoſe parts, at leaſt. For, the Spaniards, about the middle of October 1759, entered the river Beleze, ſeized and carried away thirty-one Britiſh ſubjects, whom they confined and tortured with the utmoſt ſeverity; beſides three loaded flats and thirty negroes, belonging to ſeveral baymen.

Affairs of North America.

The loſs of Louiſbourg and Quebec did not diſcourage their hopes, and could the French miniſtry have unſhackled themſelves from the German war, they would have found ways and means, perhaps in Dutch bottoms, or under the cover of ſome other of our very good neutral friends, and faithful allies, to recover their loſſes in North America. Of which the world has an extraordinary ſpecimen, in a letter wrote by the Marquis de Vaudreuil, to his militia officers in Canada, in order to keep up their ſpirits, with expecta-

expectations of effectual ſuccours from Old France [h]. And, to puzzle our operations more, and A. D. 1760.

[h] SIR, Montreal, June 3, 1760.

The Chevalier de Levy is juſt returned to this town; he has repeated to me the ſtrong teſtimony, which he had before given me, of the good will, the zeal and ardour of your company of militia.

I expected no leſs from the fidelity of the brave Canadians, and from their attachment to their native country.

His Majeſty, who is by this time, probably, informed of your brilliant victory, will be no leſs pleaſed with this, than affected with the diſtreſſes of the colony; ſo that ſuppoſing that a peace has not been concluded, on the receipt of this news, the King of England cannot poſſibly avoid ſubſcribing ſuch terms, as our monarch ſhall have impoſed upon him.

You are not uninformed of the great advantages which he gained in Europe during the laſt campaign, over the Engliſh and Pruſſians.

The priſoners which are bringing in every moment, all agree in confirming them.

The truth is, his Majeſty is in perſon in Holland, with an army of 200,000 men, the Prince of Conti in Germany with 100,000, and the Princes of Deux Ponts, and Soubiſe, command the army of the Empire of 200,000; and laſtly, the Empreſs of Ruſſia, and the Queen of Hungary, have joined their whole force, and were taking meaſures for the conqueſt of the remainder of his Pruſſian Majeſty's dominions.

Beſides this, the laſt accounts aſſure us, that the garriſons of Fort Frederick, Niagara and Chouagan, have ſuffered greatly by a ſickneſs, which is not yet ſtopped, and that the regular troops in New England are reduced to nothing.

General Murray therefore has diſperſed manifeſtoes to no purpoſe, to magnify his own nation, to pacify the Canadians, to engage them to lay down their arms, to diſcredit our bills of exchange, and our currency, at the ſame time that the Engliſh

A. D. 1760. and to divide our forces in the new world, the French had found means to ſpirit up a new Indian war. So that after the conqueſt of Quebec, we had every inch of ground to maintain, by force of arms, in Canada, and ſome of our valuable

liſh traders are eager to procure them, becauſe they have been regularly paid.

You ſee, Sir, that the colony is drawing to the end of its hardſhips and diſtreſſes, and that it is upon the point of ſeeing plenty ſucceed to ſcarcity.

If the Engliſh make any attempt, it can have no other object than the ambition of their generals; we are thoroughly prepared to repulſe them with ſpirit; we have a train of artillery, beſides that which we took from the enemy; a ſtill greater proportion of powder, ball, and ammunition, for the operations, which I have projected; we have alſo proviſions enough, by means of the reſources, which we ſhall find in the good will of the Canadians, who have the greateſt intereſt in the preſervation of their religion and liberty. The King's troops will even live, if neceſſary, upon roots, when they cannot do better, and will not fail to join their endeavours to thoſe of the brave Canadians.

My intention then is, that you and all your militia, ſhould hold yourſelves ready to march with arms, baggage, and eight days proviſions, to our frontiers, when the caſe ſhall require it.

I believe I may venture to aſſure you, that theſe will be the laſt diſpoſitions, which I ſhall have occaſion to make, for the defence of this colony; being firmly convinced, that ſome time in Auguſt, at lateſt, we ſhall have peace, proviſions, and, in general, whatever we want.

I am, &c.

P. S. You will aſſemble the militia of your company, and read this letter to them; you will carefully inſpect their arms; if any of them are out of order, you will give them a note, and the King's gunſmiths will repair them immediately.

settlements were threatened with destruction by an irruption of the Cherokees. A. D. 1760.

The situation of the garrison of Quebec was very critical [i]. The severity of the climate, after a most severe service in the operations during the summer, to make the conquest of that supposed impregnable fortress; and the danger to which they were exposed on the land side, where the fortifications were not perfectly secured against a coup de main by an enemy, in possession of the open country; of the affections of the natives; and of many other advantages, were difficulties that rendered the tenure of this conquest very precarious. It was easy to foresee that the French would improve the first opportunity, after the departure of the English fleet, to attempt the recovery of Quebec. Therefore General Murray was no sooner fixed in this government, than he prepared against the efforts of the enemy, that remained encamped in the neighbourhood. He repaired the ruins made in the siege; and strengthened the weak parts of the city with eight wooden redoubts, and a stockade, that blocked up all the avenues of the suburbs. He opened embrasures, and placed his cannon to most advantage for the reception of a land force: he made foot-banks along the ramparts, and provided 4000 facines and eleven months provision; which was deposited in the highest part of the city. State of Quebec.

[i] See page 124. Vol. III.

A. D. 1759. This work being finiſhed, his excellency ſent out two detachments to take poſſeſſion of St. Foix and Lorette, which two poſts ſecured eleven pariſhes in the vicinity of Quebec, and from thence, in caſe of neceſſity, the garriſon could be ſupplied with wood and other neceſſaries of life, during the winter [k].

Loſs of men by death, &c. The continual labour and fatigue of this buſineſs to ſecure and to provide for themſelves, added to the inclemency of the ſeaſon; the conſtant living upon ſalt proviſions, without any vegetables, and the frozen region carried off a great many brave ſoldiers, by the ſcurvy and other diſorders: ſo that a thouſand were dead before the end of April, and 2000 more were diſabled and rendered unfit for ſervice: the ſcurvy in particular getting the better of every precaution of the officer, and every remedy of the ſurgeon.

The French prepare to attack Quebec. The Chevalier de Levi, who commanded the French cantoned in the neighbourhood of Montreal, ſtill added to their misfortunes, by continual alarms on their poſts, though they always tended to the honour of Old England; and by the preparations that were known to be in agitation to attack the city in the very depth of winter. This attempt was intended for execution in February. In purſuance of that ſcheme they made all the neceſſary preparations: rackets, or ſnow-ſhoes, were diſtributed to the ſoldiery; and great num-

[k] All lower Canada, from the Point au Tremble, was reduced and took the oaths of fidelity to the King.

bers

bers of ſcaling ladders were made: they even exerciſed their men to fix and mount theſe ſcaling ladders. But, notwithſtanding all their precautions to conceal their deſign, by cutting off all communication with Jaques Quartier, which hitherto had been open to the Canadians, Governor Murray was apprized of their intentions. The enemy, who had never loſt ſight of their project, ſent a detachment to Point Levy, to take poſt there, to gather together the inhabitants of the ſouthern coaſt, and ſtrengthen their army therewith, and to form a magazine of proviſions: the poſts of Calvaire and St. Auguſtin were alſo reinforced by ſome companies of grenadiers. The enemy had been about eight days in poſſeſſion of Point Levy, buſied in heaping up a great quantity of flour, and killing 400 oxen for the ſubſiſtence of their army during the expedition, when the Engliſh light infantry, with a detachment of 200 men, diſlodged them, (it could not be attempted ſooner, the river not being froze over). Their retreat being very precipitate, they loſt but few men: one officer and eleven private men only were made priſoners: but the Engliſh became maſters of the greateſt part of their proviſions; and took poſt in St. Joſeph's church, until they had built two wooden redoubts, and mounted cannon on one of them. A few days after the enemy came with a greater force to recover the ſaid poſt; but having timely notice of it, ſome battalions were ordered to march over the ice to cut them off; others, with the light infantry, to attack them while

A. D. 1760.

Skirmiſh at Point Levy.

A. D. 1760. while they were beſieging the church. The enemy, finding themſelves ſurrounded on all ſides, thought of a retreat, which was ſo precipitate, that, notwithſtanding the Engliſh troops marched with all poſſible diligence, they overtook only part of their rear. After this retreat, the Engliſh finiſhed their redoubts, felled many trees, and ſecured their poſt from the danger of any freſh inſult. The ſame detachment, that had attempted to force them, went, ſome days after, and took poſt at St. Michael, below Point Levy. It was not thought proper to moleſt them, conſidering their great diſtance.

It ſeemed now probable the French had altered their views; that they would poſtpone any further attack till the ſpring, and then form a regular ſiege: at leaſt all their preparations ſeemed to indicate this. They began rigging their ſhips, repairing their barks and boats, building galleys, caſting balls and bombs, and making a prodigious quantity of facines and gabions; in ſhort, preparing every thing that was neceſſary for a ſiege.

Their ſtrength. In the mean time, Governor Murray, informed of the deſign, and that the French commander had compleated his eight battalions, which had ſuffered much in the laſt campaign, and 40 companies of the troopes de colonie, from the choiceſt of the Montrealiſts; that he had formed thoſe 40 companies into four battalions, and was determined to beſiege Quebec the moment the St. Laurence was open, of which river he was entirely maſter, by means of four of his King's frigates,

and

and other craft built convenient for that extraordinary navigation; he, after all that he was able to do, not having it in his power to make Quebec city ſtronger than a well fortified cantonment, thought it moſt adviſeable to place the chief of his defence in ſuch entrenchments as could be thrown up on the heights of Abraham, at the diſtance of about 800 yards from the ramparts of Quebec, which thoſe heights commanded; and were defenſible by the ſtrength the governor had under his command, againſt a large army. For this purpoſe a great quantity of faſcines, paliſadoes and ſtakes were made, to intrench on the heights of Abraham, as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit. Whilſt thoſe preparations were making on both ſides, part of the Engliſh light infantry, with a detachment from the army, went and ſurprized the enemy's advanced poſts at St. Auguſtine, Maiſon-Brulee, and La Calvaire; and, notwithſtanding their alertneſs in retreating, took 90 priſoners. Some time after, they hoped to take their revenge, attempting to carry off the wood-cutters and rangers that covered Lorette and St. Foix; but they were repulſed. The circumſtances of the garriſon became daily more critical: there was a great probability the French army and ſhips would fall down the river, as ſoon as it opened, and (the ground being yet frozen) that the Engliſh ſhould not have time to form their intrenchments. But when his excellency ſet about fortifying the heights of Abraham the 23d, 24th, and 25th of April, and the faſcines, and every material, A. D. 1760.

General Murray's preparations for defence fruſtrated.

A. D. 1759. terial and neceſſary were provided to execute the projected lines, the earth was ſtill ſo covered with ſnow, and frozen below the ſurface, that he found all his endeavours impracticable: and on the 26th at night news was brought to the governor, that the French, to the number of 10,000 men, and 500 ſavages, were landed at Point au Tremble, about 20 miles higher than the embouchure of the river Caprouge, where they had deſigned to land; as the moſt convenient place for diſembarking their artillery and ſtores, and for ſecuring a retreat in caſe of need; but were prevented by a guard placed there by the governor for that very purpoſe.

French land.

Followed by Gen. Murray. Governor Murray deprived of the advantage expected from the poſt of Abraham heights, and thoroughly informed of the diſpoſitions the enemy were making to cut off his poſts, he, on the 27th, ordered all the bridges over the Caprouge to be broken down; ſecured the landing place at Sillery and the Toulon; and then marched and took poſt ſo advantageouſly with the grenadiers, piquets, and Amherſt's regiment, and two field pieces, that when that formidable army advanced to form from the defile, they were obliged to paſs, and effected without any oppoſition or moleſtation from the Engliſh, they did not like the looks of our ſmall victorious army, but, after reconnoitring their poſition, they thought proper to retreat.

His advantageous poſt.

Enemy retreats.

Engliſh poſts called in. However, as it could not be expected, that the enemy would entirely give up this attempt, the governor called in all his poſts; who joined the army with the

the loſs of two men only, and he retreated with his whole ſtrength into the city, without any further loſs; though the enemy did every thing in their power to harraſs his rear; took poſt with their whole army at St. Foix, and had advanced poſts within muſket ſhot of the city. A motion, which at firſt ſight ſeemed to put his defence upon the ſtrength of the city walls. But, though the enemy greatly exceeded the garriſon in numbers, when the governor had conſidered and truly weighed the courage and diſcipline of his little army, that plumed themſelves with the merit of beating the French, and that he was poſſeſſed of a very fine train of artillery; and further, that the chance was greater againſt him ſhut up in an undefenſible fortification, where every thing depended upon the ſingle point of holding out for a conſiderable time, till relief might be expected by ſea, then frozen up, than in the field; from whence, in caſe of a defeat, he could fly to the city, as a dernier reſort; his excellency reſolved to march and give the enemy battle: and, if the event was not proſperous, to hold out to the laſt extremity; and then to retreat to the iſle of Orleans, or Coudres, with what was left of the garriſon, to wait for reinforcements. Accordingly the neceſſary orders were given; and half an hour after ſix next morning, he marched with all the forces he could muſter, viz. 3000 men, and formed the army on the heights in the following order: Amherſt's, Anſtruther's, ſecond battalion of Royal Americans, and Webb's, compoſed the right

A. D. 1760.

The Gov. retires with his forces into the city.

His motives and reſolution to give them battle.

His order of battle.

A. D. 1760.

right brigade, commanded by Colonel Burton: Kennedy's, Laſcelles's, Highlanders, and Townſhend's, the left brigade, commanded by Colonel Fraſer. Otway's, and the third battalion of Royal Americans, were the corps de reſerve. Major Dalling's corps of light infantry, covered the right flank; and Captain Hazzen's company of rangers, with 100 volunteers, under the command of Captain Donald Macdonald, a brave and experienced officer, covered the left. The battalions had each two field pieces.

While the line was forming, the general reconnoitred the enemy, and perceiving that their van had taken poſſeſſion of the riſing grounds, three quarters of a mile in his front, but that their army was upon the march, in one column, as far as he could ſee, he thought this the lucky moment, and moved with the utmoſt order to attack them before they could form.

This was deemed the deciſive moment to attack the enemy, in order to reap all the advantages that could be expected over an army not yet formed. In conſequence of this reſolution the men advanced. As ſoon as they came within muſketſhot, the light infantry attacked the enemy's grenadiers on the left, and repulſed them briſkly: at the ſame inſtant the volunteers and rangers attacked their right, (which alſo gave way) and made themſelves maſters of a redoubt, which the enemy had taken poſſeſſion of: the center advanced poſts fled without a blow. Major Dalling, who cannot be too much commended for his

Attack began.

his behaviour this day, and his ſervices during the winter, forced their corps of grenadiers from a houſe and windmill, they had taken hold of, to cover their left flank. Here he, and ſeveral of his officers, were wounded: his men, however, purſued the fugitives to the corps, which were now formed to ſuſtain them: they halted, and diſperſed along the front of the right; which prevented that wing from taking advantage of the firſt impreſſion, they had made on the enemy's left. They had immediately orders given them to regain the flank; but, in attempting this, they were charged, thrown into diſorder, retired to the rear, and, from the number of officers killed and wounded, could never again be brought up during the action. Otway's was inſtantly ordered to advance, and ſuſtain the right wing, which the enemy in vain made two attempts to penetrate. On theſe occaſions, Captain Ince with the grenadiers of Otway's were diſtinguiſhed. While this paſſed there, the left was not idle; they had diſpoſſeſſed the enemy of two redoubts, and ſuſtained with an unparallelled firmneſs the bold united efforts of the enemy's regulars, Indians, and Canadians; till, at laſt, the body of the enemy's army advanced with great ſtrides, and formed in columns. As ſoon as formed, one of their columns came to ſuſtain the grenadiers, purſued by the light infantry. They directly wheeled round the riſing grounds, and took the right wing in flank. At the ſame time another column, headed by the Chevalier de Levy, wheeled round the left flank: A. D. 1760.

A. D. 1759. flank: the battalions of the ſecond line immediately made a movement to the right and left, to cover and protect their flanks. But this was the critical moment; fought down, and reduced to a handful, though ſuſtained by the third battalion of Royal Americans, from the reſerve, and Kennedy's from the center, they were obliged to yield to ſuperior numbers, and to a freſh column of Rouſſillon, which penetrated. They were in danger of having all the forces of Canada to cope with, and their communication cut off. Theſe conſiderations obliged them to retreat, finding themſelves not ſtrong enough to reſiſt, and not having been able to prevent the enemy's forming.

The diſorder of the left was ſoon communicated to the right: but the whole retired in ſuch a way, that the enemy did not venture upon a briſk purſuit. Moſt of the Engliſh cannon were left, as the roughneſs of the ground, and the wreaths of ſnow, made it impoſſible to bring them off; but what could not be brought off, were nailed up.

Loſs on both ſides. We had 300 men killed, or taken priſoners in the action, and 700 wounded. The French loſt, according to their own confeſſion, 2500 men. The French army conſiſted of ten compleat battalions, (having been compleated by picked men from the Canadians) 400 ſavages, and 7600 Canadians, being in all 13,000 men. Our army, before the battle, was 3111 men. The French order of battle was, ten companies of grenadiers, two of volunteers, 400 ſavages for the van; eight battalions drawn up in four columns, with ſome corps

of Canadians in the intervals, for the main body: two battalions, and ſome corps of Canadians, on the flanks, for the rear; laſtly, 2000 Canadians for a reſerve: ſuch were their order and intentions, if they had had time to form. A. D. 1760.

Obliged to retire [1] within the walls, the place was immediately inveſted. The French opened their

[1] *Return of the officers that were killed, wounded, taken priſoners, &c. on the 28th of April,* 1760.

Amherſt's regiment. Killed, Lieutenant Marwell, ſen. Wounded, Captain-Lieutenant Cockburn; Lieutenants Mukins, Maxwell, jun. Cathcart, Winter, Irving, Lockhart; Enſigns Moneypenny Barbutt, Mills, and Barker. Priſoners, Lieutenant Hamilton, and Enſign Montgomery; the latter is alſo wounded.—Bragg's. Wounded, Colonel Walch; Major Dalling; Captains Spann, and Mitchelſon; Lieutenant and Adjutant Taffel; Lieutenants Brown and Phibbs; Enſigns Gilmor, Shepherd, and Beal. — Otway's. Wounded, Lieutenant Brown; Enſigns Lyſaglet. Priſoner, Captain Ince, who is alſo wounded.—Kennedy's. Wounded, Captain Skey; Lieutenant Clements. Priſoners, Captain Maitland, and Enſign Maw; the latter is alſo wounded.—Laſcelles's. Killed, Major Huſſey. Wounded, Lieutenants Foſter, Baſſet, Ewer, and Stratford; Enſigns Uſtich, and Handfield. Priſoners, Captain Archbold, and Lieutenant Shirrit, who are alſo both wounded.—Webb's. Killed, Enſign Nicholſon. Wounded, Captain-Lieutenants James Cockburn and Barbutt; Lieutenants Waterhouſe, Royce, Crowe, and More; Enſigns Cambell and Johnſon. Priſoner, Lieutenant Davers.—Anſtruther's. Killed, Enſign Conway. — Monckton's. Wounded, Enſigns Snow, Steel, and Donald M'Donald.—Lawrence's. Wounded, Captain Faeſch; Lieutenants Faeſch, Campbell, Grant, Stephens, and Lewis Forbes; Enſigns Pinckney, Magee, Hill, and Stewart. Priſoners. Colonel Young, and Captain Chartris. Miſſing, Lieutenant Forbes.—Fraſer's.

A. D. 1760. their trenches in the night between the 28th and 29th: their ſhips anchored at Foulon, below their camp:

Killed, Captain Donald M'Donald; Lieutenant Coſmo Gordon. Wounded, Colonel Frazer; Captains John Campbell, Alexander Frazer, and M'Leod; Lieutenants Archibald Campbell, Hector M'Donald, Donald M'Bean, Alexander Frazer, ſen. John Nairn, Arthur Roſe, Alexander Frazer, jun, Simon Frazer, ſen. Archibald Mackalliſter, Alexander Frazer. Grenadiers, John Chiſholm, Simon Frazer, jun. Malcolm Frazer, and Donald M'Neal; Enſigns Henry Monro, Robert Menzies, Charles Stewart, Duncan Cameron, William Robertſon, and Captain Lieutenant Charles M'Donald Priſoners, Alexander Gregerſon, and Malcolm Frazer, who are alſo both wounded. Miſſing, Lieutenant Alexander Campbell.—Artillery. Wounded, Major Goodwin; Second Lieutenants Heathcot, and Scott; Lieutenant Fireworker Davidſon. Priſoner, Lieutenant Fireworker Cock, who is alſo wounded. Wounded, Major M'Keller, chief engineer. —Rangers. Wounded, Captain Hazzen.—Total, killed 6, wounded 89, priſoners 13, miſſing 2.

Return of the non-commiſſioned officers, rank and file, killed, wounded, &c.

Amherſt's regiment, killed, ſerjeants four, rank and file 21; wounded, ſerjeants nine, rank and file 82.—Bragg's, killed, ſerjeant one, rank and file 14; wounded, ſerjeants four, drummers three, rank and file 100.—Otway's, killed, rank and file 12; wounded, ſerjeants three, drummer one, rank and file 43.—Kennedy's, killed, rank and file five; wounded, rank and file 16.—Laſcelles's, killed, ſerjeant one, rank and file 10; wounded, ſerjeants three, drummer one, rank and file 43.—Webb's, killed, rank and file 22; wounded, rank and file 63.—Anſtruther's, killed, ſerjeant one, rank and file ſeven; wounded, ſerjeants three, rank and file 45.—Monckton's, killed, drummer one, rank and file one; wounded, rank and file nine.—Lawrence's, killed, ſerjeant one, rank and

camp: for ſeveral days they were buſy in landing their cannon, mortars, and other ammunition: they worked inceſſantly at perfecting their trenches, and in raiſing batteries; and on the 11th of May they opened three batteries of cannon, and one bomb battery. The neceſſary diſpoſitions were made to defend the place to the laſt extremity: cannon were planted on every baſtion, and even in the curtains: they raiſed two cavaliers, and made outworks. The enemy cannonaded briſkly the firſt day; but the artillery from the walls (which had already obliged them to change their attack) ſoon ſilenced them, and their fire ſlackened daily: before they opened their batteries there were 132 pieces of cannon placed on the ramparts, moſtly dragged there by the ſoldiery. Notwithſtanding this formidable artillery, they were ſo circumſtanced, that, had a French fleet appeared firſt in the river, the place muſt inevitably have fallen, though they had reſolved to make, and ſhould certainly have made, the moſt vigorous and obſtinate reſiſtance.

A. D. 1760.

Siege of Quebec.

Defence.

and file nine; wounded, rank and file 32.—Fraſer's, ſerjeants three, drummer one, rank and file 51; wounded, ſerjeants 10, rank and file 119.—Light Infantry, killed, ſerjeants eight, rank and file 78; wounded, ſerjeants ſeven, drummer one, rank and file 124.—Rangers, killed, rank and file two; wounded, rank and file nine.—Total, killed, ſerjeants 19, drummers two, rank and file 232; wounded, ſerjeants 39, drummers ſix, rank and file 685.

Royal Artillery, wounded, &c.

Wounded, bombardiers three, gunner one, matroſſes ſix; miſſing, matroſs one.

A. D. 1760.

Expreſſes had been diſpatched over land to Nova Scotia, with accounts of this precarious and dangerous ſituation of the garriſon of Quebec. Nothing could ſave them but a timely arrival of men of war to their relief. Accordingly Lord Colville ſailed with his Majeſty's ſhips under his command from Hallifax, on the 22d of April, and others under Commodore Swanton, who had been met on the 20th of the ſame month off the banks of Newfoundland. But it was the 9th of May before the garriſon could get any tidings of theſe ſhips: which was brought, to their exceeding great joy, by a frigate on the 9th of May, and on the 15th, in the evening, one ſhip of the line and a frigate came to an anchor before the town. Next day Commodore Swanton ordered the two frigates to ſlip their cables, early in the morning; to run above the town, and to attack the French ſquadron, which conſiſted of ſix ſhips. This order was no ſooner iſſued, than performed. The French, ſeeing theſe frigates ſtand for them, they immediately weighed; were purſued, and attacked with ſuch vigour, that they ran a-ſhore at different places. The commodore was taken, and afterwards deſtroyed [m]. In this ſea action we cannot ſufficiently

Engliſh men of war arrive.

Attack the French ſquadron.

And deſtroy it.

[m] Commodore Swanton, on the 11th of May, arrived at the Iſle of Bec, in the river of St. Lawrence, with the Vanguard and Diana, where he intended to wait for ſuch of his ſquadron as had ſeparated from him, in his paſſage from England; but having, on the 14th, received advice from Brigadier-general Murray, that the enemy had beſieged Quebec, he got under ſail with the utmoſt diſpatch, and anchored above

ſufficiently expreſs the readineſs, vivacity and bravery ſhewn by Commodore Swanton, and the Captains Schomberg and Deane. Though Captain Deane loſt his ſhip [n], it was in a good cauſe, and in doing honour to his country. A D. 1760.

Next day the governor had reſolved to make a ſtrong ſortie, in the morning, to penetrate into the enemy's camp; which ſeemed to be practicable, from the accounts he had received of their ſituation and diſcipline, by priſoners and deſerters. Siege raiſed.

above point Levi, the 15th in the evening, where he found the Loweſtoffe, one of his ſquadron, which arrived a few days before, and whoſe commander, Captain Deane, immediately came off to him with a meſſage from the general, earneſtly recommending the ſpeedy removal of the French naval force above the town, conſiſting of two frigates, two armed ſhips, and many ſmaller veſſels: in conſequence of which he ordered Captain Schomberg, of the Diana, and Captain Deane, of the Loweſtoffe, to ſlip their cables early the next morning, and attack the enemy; but they were no ſooner in motion, than the enemy fled in the greateſt hurry and diſorder: the Pomona, one of the frigates, was driven on ſhore above Cape Diamond; the Atalanta, the other frigate, run a-ſhore, and was burnt at Point au Tremble, about ten leagues above the town; and moſt of the other ſhips and veſſels were likewiſe driven a-ſhore, or effectually deſtroyed.

[n] The Loweſtoffe ran upon ſome unknown rocks, in purſuit of the enemy, and was irrecoverably loſt, but the officers and men were ſaved.

Lord Colville ſailed from Halliſax, with the ſquadron under his command, the 22d of April, but did not arrive at Quebec till the 18th of May; having been much retarded in his paſſage by thick fogs, great quantities of ice, and contrary winds.

A. D. 1760. For this purpoſe his Excellency ordered the regiments of Amherſt, Townſend, Laſcelles, Anſtruther and highlanders, the grenadiers and light infantry, under arms. But when all was ready for the march the governor received information, by the lieutenant of an advanced party, that the French army had abandoned their trenches °.

The deſtruction of their ſhips, on the 16th, ſtruck them like a thunder-bolt. They went off the ſame evening, and raiſed the ſiege with ſuch precipitation, that they abandoned thirty-four cannon, ſix mortars, all their field-equipage, their proviſions, and, finally, an immenſe quantity of every implement neceſſary for a ſiege.

Enemy purſued. The governor inſtantly puſhed out at the head of the intended ſortie, and the troops marched with the utmoſt alacrity and expedition, in hopes of overtaking and forcing their rear. But the enemy had got too much the ſtart; and their terrors gave them ſwiftneſs to improve the time and ground: ſo that they had paſſed the Caprouge before he could come up with them. Where he made many priſoners, and took much baggage, purſuing them till they recovered their former

° However, we took ſeveral priſoners, and much baggage, which would otherwiſe have eſcaped. They left their camp ſtanding, all their baggage, ſtores, magazines of proviſions and ammunition, thirty-four pieces of battering cannon, four of which were braſs twelve pounders, ten field pieces, ſix mortars, four petards, a large quantity of ſcaling-ladders, and entrenching tools beyond number.

aſſylum, at Jaques-Quartier [p], where we ſhall leave them to bewail the loſs of their honour and their country, till we have related the means by which their final deſtruction, and the total reduction or conqueſt of all Canada, was effected. A. D. 1760.

General Amherſt could not proceed to put an end to the Gallic power, at the concluſion of the laſt year, in North America. He was obliged to return into winter-quarters [q]. He reſumed that ſervice as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit. But before he could reach Oſwego (on the 9th of July) two French veſſels had croſſed the lake, and appeared off that fort. Being informed of this, the general ordered the Mondega, carrying 4 nine pounders, 14 ſix pounders and 100 ſeamen; and the Mohawk, carrying 16 ſix pounders and 90 ſeamen, to ſail in queſt of them, and if poſſible to cut them off from their harbour. General Amherſt, during his ſtay at this fort, employed his time in every uſeful expedient to improve the troops and to forward his intended operations

General Amherſt reſumes the expedition againſt Montreal.

[p] It is remarked by one, who was at Quebec on this occaſion, That by recapitulating all that has been mentioned, and adding, that 1000 men have died during the winter, and near 2000 have been alternately in the hoſpital, it will appear that 4000 men, or thereabouts, have accompliſhed all the work, and ſuſtained incredible fatigues for eight months together, and at a ſeaſon deſigned, in other countries, for the relief and refreſhment of troops. Let it further be obſerved, that it was impoſſible to receive any pay during the whole winter; yet nobody ever grumbled (a circumſtance very extraordinary among common ſoldiers). Thus have we equalled, if not ſurpaſſed, our forefathers in many things.

[q] See page 134, 135. Vol. III.

A. D. 1760. againſt the enemy. For it was the 9th of Auguſt before Schuyler's regiment arrived.

Embarks at Oſwego. The whole army was ordered to embark at day-break, next morning. But the batteaus being not quite completed, the general embarked with the regulars, and left General Gage to bring up the provincials and the rear; who ſailed next morning, and joined General Amherſt on the 14th.

Advanceth through many difficulties. This navigation was attended with ſeveral difficulties, from its own nature and the want of ſufficient pilots; which greatly retarded the armed veſſels. On the 16th he joined Colonel Haldiman's advanced poſt, at the bottom of the lake, which conſiſted of the light infantry, grenadiers and one battalion of royal highlanders, detached thither on the 7th, to aſſiſt the veſſels to find a paſſage to La Galette: and here the general had intelligence of the enemy's two veſſels, which had eſcaped the vigilance of thoſe ſent in queſt of them on the 14th of July. An Oſwegatchie Indian informed him that one of the French veſſels was a-ground at the fort, and ſo much damaged that ſhe could not get off; and that the other lay off Galette. At this juncture the armed veſſels could not be found, having got out of the right channel: wherefore his Excellency fitted his row galleys to attack the veſſel. This account alſo haſtened his attack of the enemy's poſt at Iſle Royale. As this poſt was deprived of any aſſiſtance from their ſhips, he reſolved to proceed, without halting, down the river Swegatchie for that pur-

purpoſe; and reached the Point de Baril with the advanced guard (conſiſting of the rangers, Gage's, the light infantry and grenadiers, with five row gallies, under the command of Colonel Grant) very late in the day of the 16th. They could ſee the French veſſel a-ground, but as it was a calm, there was no reaching of her that night: and ſhe fired her ſignal guns, to alarm the poſt on ſhore. The advanced guard was ordered to row into the ſouth ſhore, till the return of day; and the main body of the army reached Point de Baril late at night. A. D. 1760.

Next morning, the 17th, at day-break, the enemy's veſſel made an attempt to ſail up the river: Colonel Williamſon gave her chace, with five row galleys, and came up with her and took her, after a hot engagement, in which the galleys fired one hundred and eighteen rounds, and the French veſſel ſeventy-two[r]; and ſhe had three men killed and twelve wounded. Her crew conſiſted of 100 men, commanded by M. la Broquerie. Deſtroyed their armed ſhip.

This day the general took poſſeſſion of Swegatchie, and encamped there, while he detached two engineers, with parties, to view the coaſts and ſituation of the iſlands near L'Iſle Royale; whoſe report, next day, being favourable, General Amherſt, though the weather was exceſſive bad, was determined to ſeize the firſt moment to inveſt the place. He ſet off with Gage's regiment, Swegatchie ſurrenders.

[r] From ten 12 pounders and four ſwivels.

three

A. D. 1760. three row galleys, the light infantry, grenadiers, firſt brigade of regulars, Schuyler's regiment of provincials, and the greateſt part of the Indians with Sir William Johnſon, and ſome light field pieces; and rowed down by the north ſhore, paſſed the fort, and took poſſeſſion of the iſlands and coaſts below it; whilſt two companies of rangers, two row galleys, the ſecond brigade of regulars, Lyman's regiment of provincials, with the remainder of the Indians, under the command of Colonel Haldimand, were to row down the ſouth ſhore, to take poſt oppoſite to the foot, where they were under cover; the other provincial regiments, and the heavy artillery, remained at Swegatchie. The veſſel ſailed down the middle of the river, between the two columns, to anchor at random ſhot from the fort. This was effected with a ſmart cannonading from the fort on the troops, rowing along the north ſhore, and againſt the veſſel, which ſunk one row galley, and killed two men in another row galley: one man had his thigh ſhot off, and ſeven were wounded: Several boats and oars were ſtruck with their ſhot. However, at eleven at night, the laſt boat came in, and the place was compleatly inveſted. Iſle Gallot and L'Abbe Picquets Iſland were found abandoned; the enemy having left them in a great hurry; for the ſcalps they had taken on the Mohawk river, with tools and utenſils of various kinds, two ſwivels, ſome barrels of pitch, and a quantity of iron, were left behind. Our Indians,

Attacks and conquers Iſle Royale.

on

on finding the ſcalps, burnt the chapel, and all the houſes. A. D. 1760.

On the 19th, at day-break, the general viewed the iſlands, with Colonel Williamſon and Lieutenant-Colonel Eyre, and fixed the batteries, one on each of the two iſlands neareſt the fort; and one on a point of land on the ſouth ſhore. Detachments were immediately made to open ground.

The enemy kept a front fire at the veſſels: but the general ordered his veſſels to avoid firing, rather than keep it up, and ſpent the 19th in preparing faſcines, and every neceſſary for carrying on the ſiege. Which preparations were ſo well conducted, that all the batteries began to play on the 23d, and did ſo much execution, that the enemy drew in their guns, and tried to put them under cover. General Amherſt alſo made a diſpoſition for ſtorming the fort, after ſome time firing: but he was obliged, for the preſent, to put it off; his veſſels not complying with his orders ſo well as he could have wiſhed. But the enemy, not able to keep to their guns, and many of their guns being diſmounted and diſabled, the garriſon beat a parley in the afternoon, which ended in a capitulation. By which his Majeſty was put into poſſeſſion of a fort [s] and poſt, that entirely commanded lake Ontario, and effectually covered the Mohawk river, and all that part of his Majeſty's dominions from the inroads and barbarities of the ſavages.

[s] About ſixty miles from Lake Ontario, down the river St. Lawrence.

Having

A. D. 1760. Having repaired the fort, mended the batteaus, fitted out the veſſels, and made ſuch other preparations, as were judged eſſentially neceſſary for the paſſage of the army down the river, the general proceeded for Montreal, the place of his deſtination, on the 31ſt, and arrived at the Iſle au Chat, a paſſage of about twenty-four miles: where he encamped that night; and next day arrived at Johnſon's Point, fourteen miles lower, being interrupted and delayed by the parties of the enemy that lined and fired upon the batteaus from the ſhore, as they paſſed the Long Saut; and by the rapides and broken waves, which filled many of the batteaus with water, and drowned a corporal and three men of the royal highlanders. On the 2d this armament rowed twenty-four miles down lake St. Francis, arrived at Point au Beaudet; encamped and hauled in their boats under the ſhelter of coves, before night; when there aroſe a very violent ſtorm of rain and wind; which continued all next day. But the army embarked again ſoon after day-break on the 4th, and arrived, that night, at Iſle Perrott, with the loſs of eighty-four men drowned, twenty-nine batteaus of regiments, ſeventeen of artillery, ſome artillery and ſtores, ſeventeen whale-boats, and one row galley, occaſioned by the rapides. The regulars encamped upon this iſland, about two miles from the river. But the greateſt part of our artillery, and the provincials, encamped on the river ſide, it being too late for them to proceed to the head-quarters.

Encamps on Iſle au Chat.

Damage and loſs by water.

Subdues the Iſle of Perrott.

The iſlanders abandoned their houſes, and fled into the woods, at the approach of the Engliſh. But next day, being invited to come in by ſome of their own people, who were taken and diſpatched to them, with aſſurances of protection, upon their ſubmiſſion and good-behaviour; they returned to their habitations, took the oath of allegiance to his Britannic Majeſty; and being ſuffered to keep quiet poſſeſſion of their houſes, they ſeemed, as much ſurprized with their treatment, as they were happy in it. A. D. 1760.

It was the 6th before the boats could be repaired: when, ſoon after day-break, the whole army embarked, and the boats rowed in four columns by the right, it being intended to land on the left, at La Chine, on the Iſland of Montreal. Which lay at the diſtance of three leagues only from this place of embarkation: and the weather proving favourable, they arrived at the place of deſtination ſoon in the day, and landed without any other oppoſition than a few random ſhot from flying parties, that ran into Montreal, breaking down a bridge between our camp and the town. General Amherſt, determined to make the moſt of the day, marched on towards the city, repaired the bridge, and after a march of two leagues, formed the troops on a plain before Montreal; having left the New York troops, and two Connecticut regiments at La Chine, to protect the boats. The army, thus encamped, lay all night on their arms, and got up 2 twelve pounders, 5 Lands at La Chine. Encamps before Montreal.

ſix

A. D. 1760.

six pounders and 5 three pounders of light artillery.

A parly desired from the governor.

In this situation General Amherst, next morning, received a letter from the Marquis de Vaudreuil. Which was brought by two officers, and referred his Excellency to Colonel Bougainville for particulars: and this conference produced a cessation of arms till twelve o'clock [t]. This colonel brought proposals for a capitulation from the French governor, and they were returned by General Amherst, with such alterations, restrictions

[t] "SIR, Montreal, Sept. 7, 1760.

I send to your Excellency M. de Bougainville, colonel of foot, accompanied by M. de Lac, captain in the regiment de la Reine; you may rely on all that the said colonel shall say to your Excellency in my name. I have the honour, &c.

VAUDREUIL."

Camp before Montreal, Sept. 7, 1760.

"SIR,

I am to thank your Excellency for the letter you honoured me with, this morning, by Colonel Bougainville: since which, the terms of capitulation, which you demand, have been delivered to me. I send them back to your Excellency, with those I have resolved to grant you; and there only remains for me to desire, that your Excellency will take a determination as soon as possible, as I shall make no alteration in them. If your Excellency accepts of these conditions, you may be assured that I will take care they shall be duly executed, and that I shall take a particular pleasure to alleviate your fate as much as possible, by procuring to you and to your *Suite*, all the conveniences that depend on me.

I have the honour to be, &c.

JEFF. AMHERST."

and

and amendments as he thought proper. But the French commanders ſhuffled [u] ſo long about particulars, A. D. 1760.

[u] "SIR, Montreal, Sept. 7, 1760.

I have received the letter your Excellency has honoured me with this day, as well as the anſwer to the articles which I had cauſed to be propoſed to you by M. de Bougainville.

I ſend the ſaid colonel back to your Excellency, and I perſuade myſelf that you will allow him to make, by word of mouth, a repreſentation to your Excellency, which I cannot diſpenſe with myſelf from making.

I have the honour to be, &c.

VAUDREUIL."

Camp before Montreal, Sept. 7, 1760.

"SIR,

Major Abercrombie has this moment delivered to me the letter with which your Excellency has honoured me, in anſwer to that which I had addreſſed to you, with the conditions on which I expect that Canada ſhall ſurrender: I have already had the honour to inform your Excellency, that I ſhould not make any alteration in them: I cannot deviate from this reſolution: your Excellency will, therefore, be pleaſed to take a determination immediately, and acquaint me in your anſwer, whether you will accept of them or not.

I have the honour to be, &c.

JEFF. AMHERST."

"SIR, Montreal, Sept. 7, 1760.

I ſend to your Excellency M. de Lapauſe, aſſiſtant quarter maſter general to the army, on the ſubject of the too rigorous article, which you impoſe on the troops by the capitulation, and to which it would not be poſſible for us to ſubſcribe; be pleaſed to conſider the ſeverity of that article.

I flatter myſelf, that you will be pleaſed to give ear to the repreſentations that officer will make to you on my part, and have regard to them. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Le Chevalier de LEVIS."

SIR,

A. D. 1760.

Camp before Montreal, Sept. 7, 1760.

"SIR,

The letter which you have ſent me by M. de Lapauſe, has this inſtant been delivered to me: all I have to ſay, in anſwer to it, is, that I cannot alter in the leaſt the conditions which I have offered to the Marquis de Vaudreuil: and I expect his definitive anſwer, by the bearer, on his return: on every other occaſion I ſhall be glad to convince you of the conſideration with which I am, &c.

(Signed) JEFF. AMHERST."

"SIR, Montreal, Sept. 8, 1760.

I have determined to accept the conditions which your Excellency propoſes. In conſequence whereof, I deſire you will come to a determination with regard to the meaſures to be taken relative to the ſigning of the ſaid articles.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) VAUDREUIL.'

Camp before Montreal, Sept. 8, 1760.

"SIR,

In order to fulfil ſo much the ſooner, on my part, the execution of the conditions which your Excellency has juſt determined to accept, I would propoſe that you ſhould ſign the articles which I ſent yeſterday to your Excellency, and that you would ſend them back to me by Major Abercrombie, that a duplicate may be made of them immediately, which I ſhall ſign and ſend to your Excellency.

I repeat here the aſſurances of the deſire I have to procure to your Excellency, and to the officers and troops under your command, all poſſible conveniences and protection: for which purpoſe I reckon, that you will judge it proper, that I ſhould cauſe poſſeſſion to be taken of the gates, and place guards immediately after the reciprocal ſignature of the capitulation: however, I ſhall leave this to your own convenience, ſince I propoſe it only with a view of maintaining good order, and to prevent, with the greater certainty, any thing being attempted againſt the good faith, and the terms of capitulation; in order to which I ſhall give the command of thoſe troops

cular articles [w], that it was next morning before the capitulation could be completed and ſigned [x]. To which A. D. 1760.

troops to Colonel Haldimand, who I am perſuaded will be agreeable to you. I have the honour to be, &c.

JEFF. AMHERST."

Camp before Montreal, Sept. 3, 1760.

"SIR,

I have juſt ſent to your Excellency, by Major Abercrombie, a duplicate of the capitulation, which you have ſigned this morning; and, in conformity thereto, and to the letters which have paſſed between us, I likewiſe ſend Colonel Haldimand to take poſſeſſion of one of the gates of the town, in order to enforce the obſervation of good order, and prevent differences on both ſides.

I flatter myſelf that you will have room to be fully ſatisfied with my choice of the ſaid colonel, on this occaſion.

I have the honour, &c.

JEFF. AMHERST."

[w] Particularly the thirtieth article, which is a copy of the moſt conſummate impudence of a French negociator.

[x] *Articles of capitulation between his Excellency General Amherſt, commander in chief of his Britannic Majeſty's troops and forces in North America, and his Excellency the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Grand Croix of the royal and military order of St. Lewis, governor and lieutenant-general for the King in Canada.*

Article I. Twenty-four hours after the ſigning of the preſent capitulation, the Engliſh general ſhall cauſe the troops of his Britannic Majeſty to take poſſeſſion of the gates of the town of Montreal: and the Engliſh garriſon ſhall not come into the place, till after the French troops ſhall have evacuated it.

"The whole garriſon of Montreal muſt lay down their arms, and ſhall not ſerve during the preſent war. Immediately

A. D. 1760. which they were forced by the ſeaſonable arrival of Governor Murray, who, during the time of negotiately after the ſigning of the preſent capitulation, the King's troops ſhall take poſſeſſion of the gates, and ſhall poſt the guards neceſſary to preſerve good order in the town."

Art. II. The troops, and the militia, who are in garriſon in the town of Montreal, ſhall go out by the gate of with all the honours of war, ſix pieces of cannon and one mortar, which ſhall be put on board the veſſel, where the Marquis de Vaudreuil ſhall embark, with ten rounds for each piece. The ſame ſhall be granted to the garriſon of Trois Rivieres, as to the honours of war.

Art. III. The troops and militia, who are in garriſon in the fort of Jacques-Quartier, and in the Iſland St. Helen, and other forts, ſhall be treated in the ſame manner, and ſhall have the ſame honours: and theſe troops ſhall go to Montreal or Trois Rivieres, or Quebec, to be there embarked for the firſt ſea port in France, by the ſhorteſt way. The troops who are in our poſts, ſituated on our frontiers, on the ſide of Acadia, at Detroit, Michilimakinac, and other poſts, ſhall enjoy the ſame honours, and be treated in the ſame manner.

"All theſe troops are not to ſerve during the preſent war, and likewiſe ſhall lay down their arms. The reſt is granted."

Art. IV. The militia, after being come out of the above towns, forts, and poſts, ſhall return to their homes, without being moleſted, on any pretence whatever, on account of their having carried arms.

"Granted."

Art. V. The troops, who keep the field, ſhall raiſe their camp, and march, drums beating, with their arms, baggage and artillery, to join the garriſon of Montreal, and ſhall be treated in every reſpect the ſame.

"Theſe troops, as well as the others, muſt lay down their arms."

Art. VI. The ſubjects of his Britannic Majeſty, and of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, ſoldiers, militia or ſeamen, who ſhall have deſerted, or left the ſervice of their Sovereign, and carried

negociation, landed with his troops from Quebec, below the town; and of the corps, commanded by A. D. 1760.

carried arms in North America, ſhall be, on both ſides, pardoned for their crimes: they ſhall be, reſpectively, returned to their country; if not, each ſhall remain where he is, without being ſought after, or moleſted.

"Refuſed."

Art. VII. The magazines, the artillery, firelocks, ſabres, ammunition of war, and in general, every thing that belongs to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, as well in the towns of Montreal, and Trois Rivieres, as in the forts, and poſts mentioned in the third article, ſhall be delivered up, according to exact inventories, to the commiſſaries, who ſhall be appointed to receive the ſame in the name of his Britannic Majeſty. Duplicates of the ſaid inventories ſhall be given to the Marquis de Vaudreuil.

"This is every thing that can be aſked on this article."

Art. VIII. The officers, ſoldiers, militia, ſeamen, and even the Indians, detained on account of their wounds or ſickneſs, as well in the hoſpital as in private houſes, ſhall enjoy the privileges of the cartel, and be treated accordingly.

"The ſick and wounded ſhall be treated the ſame as our own people."

Art. IX. The Engliſh general ſhall engage to ſend back to their own homes the Indians and Moraigans, who make part of his armies, immediately after the ſigning of the preſent capitulation. And in the mean time, in order to prevent all diſorders on the part of thoſe who may not be gone away, the ſaid general ſhall give ſafeguards to ſuch perſons as ſhall deſire them, as well in the town as in the country.

"The firſt part refuſed. There never has been any cruelties committed by the Indians of our army; and good order ſhall be preſerved."

Art. X. His Britannic Majeſty's general ſhall be anſwerable for all diſorders on the part of his troops, and oblige

A. D. 1760. by Colonel Haviland, from the Iſle aux Noix, which arrived ſoon after on the ſouth ſhore, oppoſite

them to pay the damages they may do, as well in the towns as in the country.

" Anſwered by the preceding article."

Art. XI. The Engliſh general ſhall not oblige the Marquis of Vaudreuil, to leave the town of Montreal before the and no perſon ſhall be lodged in his houſe till he is gone. The Chevalier Levis, commander of the land forces; the principal officers and majors of the land forces, and of the colony troops, the engineers, officers of the artillery, and commiſſary of war, ſhall alſo remain at Montreal to the ſaid day, and ſhall keep their lodgings there. The ſame ſhall be obſerved with regard to M. Bigot, intendant, the commiſſaries of marines, and writers, whom the ſaid M. Bigot ſhall have occaſion for; and no perſon ſhall be lodged at the intendant's houſe before he ſhall be gone.

" The Marquis de Vaudreuil, and all theſe gentlemen, ſhall be maſters of their houſes, and ſhall embark when the King's ſhips ſhall be ready to ſail for Europe; and all poſſible conveniences ſhall be granted them."

Art. XII. The moſt convenient veſſel that can be found ſhall be appointed to carry the Marquis de Vaudreuil, by the ſtraiteſt paſſage, to the firſt ſea port in France. The neceſſary accommodations ſhall be made for him. The Marquis de Vaudreuil, M. de Rigaud, governor of Montreal, and *Suite* of this general. This veſſel ſhall be properly victualled at the expence of his Britannic Majeſty; and the Marquis de Vaudreuil ſhall take with him his papers, without their being examined; and his equipages, plate, baggage, and alſo thoſe of his *Suite*.

" Granted, except the archives, which ſhall be neceſſary for the government of the country."

Art. XIII. If before, or after, the embarkation of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, news of peace ſhould arrive, and that, by the treaty, Canada ſhould remain to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, the Marquis de Vaudreuil ſhall return to Quebec or Montreal, every thing ſhall return to its former ſtate under the

poſite the Engliſh camp. A moſt remarkable inſtance of excellent military conduct, where three ſeparate A. D. 1760.

the dominion of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and the preſent capitulation ſhall become null and of no effect.

" Whatever the King may have done on this ſubject, ſhall be obeyed."

Art. XIV. Two ſhips ſhall be appointed to carry to France le Chevalier de Levis, the principal officers, and the ſtaff of the land forces, the engineers, officers of artillery, and their *Suite*. Theſe veſſels ſhall likewiſe be victualled, and the neceſſary accommodations provided in them. The ſaid officers ſhall take with them their papers, without being examined, and alſo their equipages and baggage. Such of the ſaid officers as ſhall be married, ſhall have liberty to take with them their wives and children, who ſhall alſo be victualled.

" Granted; except that the Marquis de Vaudreuil, and all the officers, of whatever rank they may be, ſhall faithfully deliver up to us all the charts and plans of the country."

Art. XV. A veſſel ſhall be appointed for the paſſage of M. Bigot, the intendant, with his *Suite:* In which veſſel the proper accommodations ſhall be made for him, and the perſons he ſhall take with him: he ſhall likewiſe embark with him his papers, which ſhall not be examined, his equipages, plate and baggage, and thoſe of his *Suite*. This veſſel ſhall alſo be victualled as before-mentioned.

" Granted; with the ſame reſerve, as in the preceding article."

Art. XVI. The Engliſh general ſhall alſo order the neceſſary and moſt convenient veſſels to carry to France M. de Longuevil, governor of Trois Rivieres, the ſtaff of the colony, and the commiſſary of the marine: they ſhall embark therein their families, ſervants, baggage and equipages; and they ſhall be properly victualled during the paſſage, at the expence of his Britannic Majeſty.

" Granted."

Art. XVII. The officers and ſoldiers, as well of the land forces, as of the colony, and alſo the marine officers and ſea-

A. D. 1760. ſeparate expeditions againſt one place, by different routs, without any communication with each other, and

men, who are in the colony, ſhall be likewiſe embarked for France, and ſufficient and convenient veſſels ſhall be appointed for them. The land and ſea officers, who ſhall be married, ſhall take with them their families, and all of them ſhall have liberty to embark their ſervants and baggage. As to the ſoldiers and ſeamen, thoſe who are married ſhall take with them their wives and children, and all of them ſhall embark their havreſacks and baggage. Theſe veſſels ſhall be properly and ſufficiently victualled at the expence of his Britannic Majeſty.

"Granted."

Art. XVIII. The officers, ſoldiers, and all the followers of the troops, who ſhall have their baggage in the field, may ſend for it before they depart, without any hindrance or moleſtation.

"Granted."

Art. XIX. An hoſpital-ſhip ſhall be provided by the Engliſh general, for ſuch of the wounded and ſick officers, ſoldiers and ſeamen, as ſhall be in a condition to be carried to France, and ſhall likewiſe be victualled at the expence of his Britannic Majeſty.

It ſhall be the ſame with regard to the other wounded and ſick officers, ſoldiers and ſailors, as ſoon as they ſhall be recovered. They ſhall be at liberty to carry with them their wives, children, ſervants and baggage; and the ſaid ſoldiers and ſailors ſhall not be ſollicited nor forced to enter into the ſervice of his Britannic Majeſty.

"Granted."

Art. XX. A commiſſary, and one of the King's writers, ſhall be left to take care of the hoſpitals, and of whatever may relate to the ſervice of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty.

"Granted."

Art. XXI. The Engliſh general ſhall alſo provide ſhips for carrying to France the officers of the ſupreme council, of juſtice,

and through a moſt dangerous and difficult country, met almoſt at the ſame time at their rendezvous. A. D. 1760.

Thus

juſtice, police, admiralty, and all other officers, having commiſſions or brevets from his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, for them, their families, ſervants and equipages, as well as for the other officers: and they ſhall likewiſe be victualled at the expence of his Britannic Majeſty. They ſhall, however, be at liberty to ſtay in the colony, if they think proper, to ſettle their affairs, or to withdraw to France, whenever they think fit.

"Granted: but if they have papers relating to the government of the country, they are to be delivered to us."

Art. XXII. If there are any military officers, whoſe affairs ſhould require their preſence in the colony till next year, they ſhall have liberty to ſtay in it, after having obtained the permiſſion of the Marquis de Vaudreuil for that purpoſe, and without being reputed priſoners of war.

"All thoſe whoſe private affairs ſhall require their ſtay in the country, and who ſhall have the Marquis de Vaudreuil's leave for ſo doing, ſhall be allowed to remain till their affairs are ſettled."

Art. XXIII. The commiſſary for the King's proviſions, ſhall be at liberty to ſtay in Canada till next year, in order to be enabled to anſwer the debts he has contracted in the colony, on account of what he has furniſhed; but if he ſhould prefer to go to France this year, he ſhall be obliged to leave till next year, a perſon to tranſact his buſineſs. This private perſon ſhall preſerve, and have liberty to carry off all his papers, without being inſpected. His clerks ſhall have leave to ſtay in the colony, or go to France; and in this laſt caſe, a paſſage and ſubſiſtence ſhall be allowed them on board the ſhips of his Britannic Majeſty, for them, their families, and their baggage.

"Granted."

Art. XXIV. The proviſions, and other kind of ſtores which ſhall be found in the magazines of the commiſſary, as well in

A. D. 1760.

Thus before General Amherſt had time to raiſe a battery, the enemy was ſtruck with ſuch a panic,

Town and all Canada ſurrenders.

the town of Montreal, and of Trois Rivieres, as in the country, ſhall be preſerved to him, the ſaid proviſions belonging to him, and not to the King, and he ſhall be at liberty to ſell them to the French or Engliſh.

"Every thing that is actually in the magazines, deſtined for the uſe of the troops, is to be delivered to the Engliſh commiſſary for the King's forces."

Art. XXV. A paſſage to France ſhall likewiſe be granted on board of his Britannic Majeſty's ſhips, as well as victuals, to ſuch officers of the India company, as ſhall be willing to go thither, and they ſhall take with them their families, ſervants and baggage. The chief agent of the ſaid company, in caſe he ſhould chuſe to go to France, ſhall be allowed to leave ſuch perſon as he ſhall think proper, till next year, to ſettle the affairs of the ſaid company, and to recover ſuch ſums, as are due to them. The ſaid chief agent ſhall keep poſſeſſion of all the papers belonging to the ſaid company, and they ſhall not be liable to inſpection.

"Granted."

Art. XXVI. The ſaid company ſhall be maintained in the property of the Ecarlatines and Caſtors, which they may have in the town of Montreal; they ſhall not be touched under any pretence whatever; and the neceſſary facilities ſhall be given to the chief agent, to ſend this year, his Caſtors to France, on board his Britannic Majeſty's ſhips, paying the freight on the ſame footing as the Engliſh would pay it.

"Granted, with regard to what may belong to the company, or to private perſons; but if his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty has any ſhare in it, that muſt become the property of the King.

Art. XXVII. The free exerciſe of the catholic, apoſtolic, and Roman religion, ſhall ſubſiſt intire; in ſuch manner that all the ſtates and the people of the towns and countries, places and diſtant poſts, ſhall continue to aſſemble in the churches, and to frequent the ſacraments as heretofore, without being moleſted in any manner, directly or indirectly.

Theſe

nic, that the very bravo, who a few weeks before had boaſted ſo arrogantly and falſely of the ſtrength A. D. 1760.

Theſe people ſhall be obliged, by the Engliſh government, to pay to the prieſts, the tithes and all the taxes they were uſed to pay, under the government of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty.

" Granted, as to the free exerciſe of their religion. The obligation of paying the tithes to the prieſts, will depend on the King's pleaſure."

Art. XXVIII. The chapter, prieſts, curates and miſſionaries, ſhall continue, with an entire liberty, their exerciſe and functions of their cures, in the pariſhes of the towns and countries.

" Granted."

Art. XXIX. The grand vicars, named by the chapter to adminiſter to the dioceſe during the vacancy of the epiſcopal ſee, ſhall have liberty to dwell in the towns or country pariſhes, as they ſhall think proper. They ſhall, at all times, be free to viſit the different pariſhes of the dioceſe, with the ordinary ceremonies, and exerciſe all the juriſdiction they exerciſed under the French dominion. They ſhall enjoy the ſame rights in caſe of death of the future biſhop, of which mention will be made in the following article.

" Granted; except what regards the following article."

Art. XXX. If, by the treaty of peace, Canada ſhould remain in the power of his Britannic Majeſty, his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhall continue to name the biſhop of the colony, who ſhall always be of the Roman communion, and under whoſe authority the people ſhall exerciſe the Roman religion.

" Refuſed."

Art. XXXI. The biſhop ſhall, in caſe of need, eſtabliſh new pariſhes, and provide for the rebuilding of his cathedral and his epiſcopal palace; and, in the mean time, he ſhall have the liberty to dwell in the town or pariſhes, as he ſhall judge proper. He ſhall be at liberty to viſit his dioceſe with the ordinary ceremonies, and exerciſe all the juriſdiction which his

A. D. 1760. ſtrength of his nation, and the ſucceſs of the Gallic arms in Europe, was reduced to the neceſſity of

his predeceſſor exerciſed under the French dominion, ſave that an oath of fidelity, or a promiſe to do nothing contrary to his Britannic Majeſty's ſervice, may be required of him.

"This article is compriſed under the foregoing."

Art. XXXII. The communities of nuns ſhall be preſerved in their conſtitutions and privileges. They ſhall continue to obſerve their rules. They ſhall be exempted from lodging any military, and it ſhall be forbid to trouble them in their religious exerciſes, or to enter their monaſteries: ſafeguards ſhall even be given them, if they deſire them.

"Granted."

Art. XXXIII. The preceding article ſhall likewiſe be executed with regard to the communities of jeſuits and recolets, and of the houſe of the prieſts of Saint Sulpice at Montreal. Theſe laſt, and the jeſuits, ſhall preſerve their right to nominate to certain curacies and miſſions, as heretofore.

"Refuſed till the King's pleaſure be known."

Art. XXXIV. All the communities, and all the prieſts, ſhall preſerve their moveables, the property and revenues of the ſeignories, and other eſtates which they poſſeſs in the colony, of what nature ſoever they may be. And the ſame eſtates ſhall be preſerved in their privileges, rights, honours, and exemptions.

"Granted."

Art. XXXV. If the cannons, prieſts, miſſionaries, the prieſts of the ſeminary of the foreign miſſions, and of St. Sulpice, as well as the jeſuits and the recolets, chuſe to go to France, paſſage ſhall be granted them in his Britannic Majeſty's ſhips: and they ſhall all have leave to ſell, in whole, or in part, the eſtates and moveables which they poſſeſs in the colonies, either to the French, or to the Engliſh, without the leaſt hindrance or obſtacle from the Britiſh government.

They may take with them, or ſend to France, the produce of what nature ſoever it be, of the ſaid goods ſold, paying the freight, as mentioned in the 26th article. And ſuch of the

of ſigning a capitulation, by which not only Montreal, but all Canada, an immenſe country, was A. D. 1760.

the ſaid prieſts who chuſe to go this year, ſhall be victualled during the paſſage, at the expence of his Britannic Majeſty; and ſhall take with them their baggage.

"They ſhall be maſters to diſpoſe of their eſtates, and to ſend the produce thereof, as well as their perſons, and all that belongs to them, to France."

Art. XXXVI. If, by the treaty of peace, Canada ramains to his Britannic Majeſty, all the French, Canadians, Acadians, merchants, and other perſons, who chuſe to retire to France, ſhall have leave to do ſo, from the Engliſh general, who ſhall procure them a paſſage. And, nevertheleſs, if, from this time to that deciſion any French or Canadian merchants, or other perſons, ſhall deſire to go to France, they ſhall likewiſe have leave from the Engliſh general. Both the one and the other ſhall take with them their families, ſervants, and baggage.

"Granted."

Art. XXXVII. The lords of manors, the military and civil officers, the Canadians, as well in the towns as in the country, the French ſettled or trading in the whole extent of the colony of Canada, and all other perſons whatſoever, ſhall preſerve the entire peaceable property and poſſeſſion of their goods, noble and ignoble, moveable and immoveable, merchandizes, furs, and other effects, even their ſhips; they ſhall not be touched, nor the leaſt damage done to them, on any pretence whatſoever. They ſhall have liberty to keep, let, or ſell them, as well to the French, as to the Engliſh; to take away the produce of them, in bills of exchange, furs, ſpecie, or other returns, whenever they ſhall judge proper to go to France, paying their freight, as in the 26th article. They ſhall alſo have the furs which are in the poſts above, and which belong to them, and may be on the way to Montreal. And for this purpoſe they ſhall have leave to ſend this year, or the next

A. D. 1760. was ſurrendered to the King of Great Britain. Accordingly the Britiſh troops took immediate poſſeſſion

next, canoes, fitted out, to fetch ſuch of the ſaid furs as ſhall have remained in thoſe poſts.

" Granted, as in the 26th article."

Art. XXXVIII. All the people who have left Acadia, and who ſhall be found in Canada, including the frontiers of Canada, on the ſide of Acadia, ſhall have the ſame treatment as the Canadians, and ſhall enjoy the ſame privileges.

" The King is to diſpoſe of his ancient ſubjects: In the mean time they ſhall enjoy the ſame privilege as the Canadians."

Art. XXXIX. None of the Canadians, Acadians, or French, who are now in Canada, and on the frontiers of the colony, on the ſide of Acadia, Detroit, Michillamakinac, and other places and poſts of the countries above, the married and unmarried ſoldiers, remaining in Canada, ſhall be carried or tranſported into the Engliſh colonies, or to Old England, and they ſhall not be troubled for having carried arms.

" Granted; except with regard to the Canadians."

Art. XL. The ſavages, or Indian allies of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, ſhall be maintained in the lands they inhabit, if they chuſe to remain there; they ſhall not be moleſted on any pretence whatſoever, for having carried arms, and ſerved his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty. They ſhall have, as well as the French, liberty of religion, and ſhall keep their miſſionaries. The actual vicars general, and the biſhop, when the epiſcopal ſee ſhall be filled, ſhall have leave to ſend to them new miſſionaries when they ſhall judge it neceſſary.

" Granted; except the laſt article, which has been already refuſed."

Art. XLI. The French, Canadians, and Acadians, of what ſtate and condition ſoever, who ſhall remain in the colony, ſhall not be forced to take arms againſt his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty or his allies, directly or indirectly, on any occaſion whatſoever. The Britiſh government ſhall only require of them an exact neutrality.

" They become ſubjects of the King."

Art. XLII.

poſſeſſion of all the fortreſſes in that province, and the French garriſons were engaged not to ſerve againſt Great Britain during the war. A. D. 1760.

Thus

Art. XLII. The French and Canadians ſhall continue to be governed according to the cuſtom of Paris, and the laws and uſages eſtabliſhed for this country; and they ſhall not be ſubject to any other impoſts than thoſe which were eſtabliſhed under the French dominions.

"Anſwered by the preceding articles, and particularly by the laſt."

Art. XLIII. The papers of the government ſhall remain, without exception, in the power of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, and ſhall go to France with him. Theſe papers ſhall not be examined on any pretence whatſoever.

"Granted, with the reſerve already made."

Art. XLIV. Thepapers of the intendancy of the officers of comptroller of the marine, of the ancient and new treaſurers, of the King's magazines, of the office of the revenues, and forces of St. Maurice, ſhall remain in the power of M. Bigot, the intendant, and they ſhall be embarked for France in the ſame veſſel with him. Theſe papers ſhall not be examined.

"The ſame as to this article."

Art. XLV. The regiſters, and other papers of the ſupreme council of Quebec, of the Provoſte, and admiralty of the ſaid city; thoſe of the royal juriſdictions of Trois-Rivieres, and of Montreal; thoſe of the Seigneurial juriſdictions of the colony; the minutes of the acts of the notaries of the towns and of the countries; and, in general, the acts, and other papers that may ſerve to prove the eſtates and fortunes of the citizens, ſhall remain in the colony, in the rolls of the juriſdictions on which theſe papers depend.

"Granted."

Art. XLVI. The inhabitants and merchants ſhall enjoy all the privileges of trade, under the ſame favours and conditions,

granted

A. D. 1760. Thus concluded the campaign in North America againſt the French, with the important conqueſt

granted to the ſubjects of his Britannic Majeſty, as well in the countries above, as in the interior of the colony.

"Granted."

Art. XLVII. The negroes and Panis of both ſexes, ſhall remain, in their quality of ſlaves, in the poſſeſſion of the French and Canadians to whom they belong: they ſhall be at liberty to keep them in their ſervice in the colony, or to ſell them; and they may alſo continue to bring them up in the Roman religion.

"Granted; except thoſe who ſhall have been made priſoners."

Art. XLVIII. The Marquis de Vaudreuil, the general and ſtaff officers of the land forces, the governors and ſtaff officers of the different places of the colony; the military and civil officers, and all other perſons, who ſhall leave the colony, or who are already abſent, ſhall have leave to name and appoint attornies to act for them, and in their name, in the adminiſtration of their effects, moveable and immoveable, until the peace. And if, by the treaty between the two crowns, Canada does not return under the French dominion, theſe officers or other perſons, or attornies for them, ſhall have leave to ſell their manors, houſes, and other eſtates, their moveables, and effects, &c. to carry away, or ſend to France, the produce, either in bills of exchange, ſpecie, furs, or other returns, as is mentioned in the 37th article.

"Granted."

Art. XLIX. The inhabitants and other perſons who ſhall have ſuffered any damage in their goods, moveable or immoveable, which remained at Quebec, under the faith of the capitulation of that city, may make their repreſentations to the Britiſh government, who ſhall render them due juſtice, againſt the perſon to whom it ſhall belong.

"Granted."

Art. L.

queſt of Montreal: without which it was impoſſible for us to reap the fruits, that we now enjoy in the poſſeſſion of all Canada, nor preſerve the conqueſt of Quebec, nor cover our provinces from inroads, A. D. 1760.

Art. L. and laſt. The preſent capitulation ſhall be inviolably executed in all its articles, and *bona fide* on both ſides, notwithſtanding any infraction, and any other pretence with regard to the preceding capitulations, and without making uſe of repriſals.

"Granted."

P. S. Art. LI. The Engliſh general ſhall engage, in caſe any Indians remain after the ſurrender of this town, to prevent their coming into the towns; and that they do not, in any manner, inſult the ſubjects of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty.

"Care ſhall be taken that the Indians do not inſult any of the ſubjects of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty."

Art. LII. The troops and other ſubjects of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, who are to go to France, ſhall be embarked, at lateſt, 15 days after the ſigning of the preſent capitulation.

"Anſwered by the 11th article."

Art. LIII. The troops and other ſubjects of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, who are to go to France, ſhall remain lodged and encamped in the town of Montreal, and other poſts which they now occupy, till they ſhall be embarked for their departure: paſſports however ſhall be granted to thoſe, who ſhall want them for the different places of the colony, to take care of their affairs.

"Granted."

Art. LIV. All the officers and ſoldiers of the troops in the ſervice of France, who are priſoners in New England, and who were taken in Canada, ſhall be ſent back, as ſoon as poſſible, to France, where their ranſom or exchange ſhall be treated of, agreeable to the cartel; and if any of theſe officers have affairs in Canada, they ſhall have leave to come there.

"Granted."

Art. LV.

A. D. 1760. inroads, inſults, and encroachments. For, it will be ſhewn in the next volume, by the hoſtilities committed by the Cherokees, that while the French were in a condition to maintain the leaſt property or intereſt on that continent, there could be no hopes of putting an happy end to the Amerian war.

Art. LV. As to the officers of the militia, and the Acadians, who are priſoners in New England, they ſhall be ſent back to their countries.

"Granted; except what regards the Acadians."

Done at Montreal. Sept. 8, 1760.

VAUDREUIL.

Done in the camp before Montreal, the 8th of Sept. 1760.

JEFF. AMHERST.

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.